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**Relationships between local people and protected natural areas:
A case study of Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, New Zealand**

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of
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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LOCAL PEOPLE AND
PROTECTED NATURAL AREAS:

A CASE STUDY OF ARTHUR'S PASS AND THE
WAIMAKARIRI BASIN, NEW ZEALAND

By R. J. Kappelle

An understanding of relationships between local populations and nearby protected natural areas is necessitated by recent shifts towards socially inclusive park management. This study uses a qualitative case-study approach to explore the relationships between a local community and public conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, New Zealand.

Interviews undertaken with local residents, tourism operators, farmers, conservation management staff and bach owners indicate that relationships between the local population and conservation activity around them occur within a complex milieu - a harsh yet rewarding physical environment, a history of conflicting attitudes towards the land, a changing conservation management style and the intricacies of a small, isolated, rural community in the 21st century. In order to understand the local people-park relationship, three dimensions are proposed: lifestyle, attachment and recreation; tourism; and interactions with Department of Conservation (DOC) staff.

The large areas of conservation land in and around Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are a central influence on the lives of local people. They attract a population who appreciates the scenic, bio-physical, productive, spiritual and recreational values of the surrounding environment. Most people have made a deliberate choice to live in the area, rather than following work opportunities elsewhere. Historical attachment to the land is significant, particularly for farmers and bach owners. Low-key forms of tourism in the area, based on the conservation lands, are consistent with the lifestyle aspirations of many in the local community. Conflict between locals and tourists is minimal.

The relationship between DOC and the community appears to hinge on four factors: residents' attachment to the conservation land; public ownership of the conservation lands; the high visibility of conservation staff in the community; and the shift towards corporate style conservation management. Farmers' relationships with DOC are coloured by historical grievances centring on private-public sector debates and the perception that public land managers are predisposed to placing protection on grazing land. Locals attribute poor communication from DOC as one reason for the less than optimal relationship between conservation managers and the community.

A model depicting central aspects of the local people-park relationship is presented and discussed. Implications of the findings for future research on local people-park relationships and socially inclusive park management are examined.

Keywords: Socially inclusive park management; place attachment; recreational place attachment; benefits of recreation; leisure participation theory; environmental values; protected natural area tourism; destination development; public agency-community relations; park-neighbour relations.

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Table of contents

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of contents	v
List of tables	ix
List of figures.....	ix
List of maps	ix
List of plates	x
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
<i>1.1 Terminology.....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2 The rationale for people-park research.....</i>	<i>1</i>
1.2.1 The national park concept	2
1.2.2 Towards socially inclusive park management.....	2
1.2.3 Institutional changes in park management	4
1.2.4 Benefits-based management.....	4
<i>1.3 Aims and methods of this study.....</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>1.4 Thesis structure.....</i>	<i>7</i>
Chapter 2 - Literature review	9
<i>2.1 Situating the current study.....</i>	<i>9</i>
2.1.1 People-park research in developing countries	9
2.1.2 People-park research in developed countries	10
2.1.3 Studies in the New Zealand context.....	11
2.1.4 Summary of people-park literature	13
<i>2.2 Key aspects of people-park relationships</i>	<i>13</i>
2.2.1 Intrinsic values	15
2.2.2 Outdoor recreation - motivations and benefits	17
2.2.3 Social effects of protected natural area tourism	20
2.2.4 Relationships between management and locals	23

2.2.5	Traditional land use	26
2.2.6	Local participation	26
2.2.7	Interim summary	27
2.3	<i>Additional concepts important to this study</i>	28
2.3.1	Place and place attachment	28
2.3.2	Life-path frameworks.....	30
2.4	<i>Chapter summary</i>	31
Chapter 3 - Methodology.....		33
3.1	<i>The researcher's background</i>	33
3.2	<i>The qualitative approach</i>	34
3.2.1	Qualitative inquiry of local people-park relationships	34
3.3	<i>The case study approach</i>	35
3.3.1	Site selection	36
3.4	<i>Semi-structured and in-depth interviews</i>	37
3.5	<i>Data collection and analysis</i>	38
3.5.1	Participant selection	38
3.5.2	Data collection	40
3.5.3	Data management.....	42
3.6	<i>Ethical considerations</i>	43
3.7	<i>Methods summary</i>	43
Chapter 4 - Study setting.....		45
4.1	<i>Introduction</i>	45
4.2	<i>Location</i>	45
4.3	<i>Natural environment</i>	49
4.3.1	Geology and landscape.....	49
4.3.2	Climate.....	50
4.3.3	Flora and fauna.....	50
4.4	<i>The Maori presence</i>	51
4.4.1	Spiritual and historical links to the land	52
4.4.2	Current Maori involvement.....	53
4.5	<i>Pastoralism - foundation for the Waimakariri Basin community</i>	53
4.5.1	History of pastoralism in the Waimakariri Basin	53
4.5.2	Pastoralism and the Waimakariri Basin community today	55

4.6	<i>Trans-alpine links - the genesis of Arthur's Pass village</i>	58
4.6.1	The Arthur's Pass road.....	58
4.6.2	The Midland Railway.....	59
4.6.3	Arthur's Pass village - past and present	60
4.7	<i>Conservation</i>	63
4.7.1	Evolution of Arthur's Pass National Park	63
4.7.2	Early days at the National Park.....	64
4.7.3	Conservation today - the arrival of DOC	65
4.7.4	A changing conservation management style	68
4.8	<i>Chapter summary and conclusions</i>	71
Chapter 5 - Lifestyles, recreation and place attachment		73
5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	73
5.2	<i>Why live in Arthur's Pass?</i>	74
5.2.1	A life-path of Arthur's Pass village residents	75
5.3	<i>Recreation and lifestyle</i>	79
5.3.1	Types of recreation undertaken	80
5.3.2	Recreational attachment, benefits and motivations	80
5.3.3	Family recreation and child development	86
5.3.4	Work versus recreation	88
5.4	<i>Values and place attachment</i>	90
5.4.1	Meanings and values assigned to the local environment.....	90
5.4.2	Farmers' connection to the land	95
5.5	<i>Lifestyles and local conditions</i>	97
5.5.1	Road and rail	97
5.5.2	Perceptions of isolation	99
5.5.3	Weather, topography and fault-lines	102
5.6	<i>Chapter summary</i>	103
Chapter 6 - Tourism and conservation lands		105
6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	105
6.2	<i>Overview of tourism in the study area</i>	105
6.2.1	Arthur's Pass village tourism	106
6.2.2	Waimakariri Basin tourism	108
6.3	<i>The role of conservation lands in local tourism</i>	109
6.4	<i>Local views of tourism</i>	112
6.5	<i>Chapter summary and discussion</i>	115

Chapter 7 - The local community and DOC	117
7.1 Introduction	117
7.2 A critical local audience	117
7.2.1 Public ownership of DOC-administered land	118
7.2.2 Managing a resource 'precious' to locals	118
7.2.3 Visibility of DOC in a small community	120
7.3 The changing culture of conservation management	121
7.3.1 The Temple Basin issue	125
7.3.2 Section summary	128
7.4 High country farmers and DOC	129
7.4.1 Section summary	132
7.5 Communication between DOC and locals	133
7.5.1 Perceptions of DOC as communicators	133
7.5.2 Local knowledge and fire control	135
7.5.3 The covenant issue	136
7.6 Chapter summary	137
Chapter 8 - Conclusion	139
8.1 Study overview	139
8.2 Model of the local people-park relationship	140
8.3 Community and conservation land: Dimensions of the relationship	142
8.3.1 Lifestyle, recreation and attachment	142
8.3.2 Tourism	145
8.3.3 DOC-community relationships	147
8.3.4 Reintegration	149
8.4 Implications for future research	150
8.4.1 Socially inclusive park management	150
References	153
Appendices	169
Appendix 1 Interview guidelines	170
Appendix 1.1 Interview guidelines for village residents	170
Appendix 1.2 Interview guidelines for tourism operators	171
Appendix 1.3 Interview guidelines for farmers	172
Appendix 1.4 Interview guidelines for bach owners	173
Appendix 2 Introduction letter and consent form	174
Appendix 3 Statutory function of Department of Conservation	177

List of tables

Table 2.1: A framework for people-park relationships.....	14
Table 2.2: Personal dimensions of natural environment experiences.....	16
Table 2.3: Non-use values of protected natural areas.....	17
Table 2.4: Common motivations for outdoor recreation	18
Table 2.5: Benefits attributed to leisure and recreation	20
Table 3.1: Study site selection criteria.....	36
Table 3.2: Participant typology - based on association with the study area	39
Table 3.3: Participant characteristics - based on association with the study area.....	39
Table 3.4: Participant characteristics - based on residence.....	40
Table 4.1: Waimakariri Basin pastoral runs	55
Table 4.2: Conservation land in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin	66
Table 6.1: Arthur's Pass National Park visitor typology	107

List of figures

Figure 2.1: Destination life cycle.....	21
Figure 2.2: The life course model: Intersecting careers.....	31
Figure 5.1: Life-path model based on outdoor recreation in Arthur's Pass.....	76
Figure 6.1: Growth in Arthur's Pass traffic and Visitor Centre patronage.....	108
Figure 8.1: The community-conservation land relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin	141

List of maps

Map 1: Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin	46
Map 2: High country stations and public conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin	56
Map 3: Arthur's Pass village.....	61

List of plates

Plate 1: Arthur's Pass village	47
Plate 2: Open spaces of the Waimakariri Basin.....	47
Plate 3: Bealey Hotel	48
Plate 4: Arthur's Pass and Temple Basin Ski Area.....	48
Plate 5: Arthur's Pass landscape	49
Plate 6: Tussock and scrub on the edges of Lake Sarah	51
Plate 7: Grazing land adjacent to Arthur's Pass National Park	57
Plate 8: Station homestead and surroundings	57
Plate 9: Homes in Arthur's Pass village	62
Plate 10: Department of Conservation Area Office and Visitor Centre, Arthur's Pass village	62

Chapter 1 - Introduction

For most New Zealanders, national parks and other forms of protected natural areas are places to visit when time allows. We may camp in them while on holiday, spend a long weekend walking across hills, forests and rivers, or use them as a picturesque site for a pause in a long car trip. They are something separate from our normal daily life - something special.

However, for a small proportion of New Zealanders, protected natural areas are very much part of normal daily life. These are the people living next to or within public conservation lands - the local population. This thesis explores the relationship between local people and protected natural areas. It examines what it means to live next to a conservation area; how local people feel about the neighbouring conservation lands and how these conservation lands affect local people.

1.1 Terminology

The thesis examines relationships between local people and protected natural areas (PNAs). 'Protected natural area' is a term used internationally to describe land that is formally protected for its natural qualities and in this thesis it is used to describe protected land in a generic sense.

The term 'conservation land(s)' is used to describe protected land in New Zealand and in the study area in particular. The terms 'locals' and 'community' are used to refer to the local people individually and collectively.

The relationships under study are usually referred to as 'local people-park relationships', in the generic sense, or 'community-conservation relationships', in the New Zealand and study area contexts.

1.2 The rationale for people-park research

This section describes the context of past research on people-park relationships, outlining the rationale for the current study. It begins by examining the traditional concept of national parks and contrasts this with a more socially inclusive form of land protection evident today.

1.2.1 The national park concept

The American national park model first appeared in 1872, with the gazetting of Yellowstone National Park (Runte, 1987). The objectives of the early park model were to protect the wildest and most beautiful areas for outdoor recreation and tourism. The model built symbolic (or real) fences around parks (Furze, de Lacy & Birkhead, 1996), excluding people from living within the boundaries.

Many protected area systems around the world have since been based on the exclusionary American national park model¹. However, the management objectives associated with the exclusionary ideal do not fit with all protected area situations. Recognition of this incompatibility has led to greater inclusion of socio-cultural considerations in protected area management.

1.2.2 Towards socially inclusive park management

Over the last twenty years, there has been a growing realisation that conservation and national park managers cannot achieve their natural heritage protection goals without including human concerns. A particular aspect of this relationship between people and parks is elaborated by Garratt (1984, p. 66), who suggests that

“... nature does not recognize Man’s [sic] laws and boundaries and ... laws by themselves do not change human habits and traditions. Protected area management must therefore consider the physical and social environment of the broader region if it is to be effective.”

This comment typifies the change in the international conservation paradigm. No longer are protected areas seen as separate and incompatible with people. People (particularly resident and adjacent communities) are now regarded as part of a socio-environmental system, which is larger than (and inclusive of) the biological ecosystems that exist within the park boundaries. Social and cultural systems, knowledge of human behaviour, institutional structures, economies and communities have grown to be key elements in the conceptual thinking about protected areas (Field, 1997). An understanding of the values and attitudes of adjacent communities towards parks is seen to be critical to preserving

¹ New Zealand’s first national park, Tongariro, was conceived in 1887 after being gifted to the Crown by the local Maori tribe.

natural resources, providing for public enjoyment and sustaining the human populations who depend on park resources (Machlis & Soukup, 1997).

The changing direction of natural resource management and park management has seen a shift in information requirements. Traditional exclusionary views of natural resource management placed heavy emphasis on scientific information and the ability to predict biological outcomes of management action. However, the trend towards the integration of biological and social objectives has seen the information requirement shift to embrace a socio-cultural component. This includes the socio-cultural outcomes of, and public attitudes and values towards, natural resources and their management (Decker, Brown & Knuth, 1996).

Forms of protection advocated by global organisations, such as the United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and The World Conservation Union (IUCN), reflect a shift towards the inclusion of local people in land protection. The Man and Biosphere Program was initiated in the 1970s by UNESCO. Biosphere reserves involve the use of buffer and transition zones around a core protected area to fulfil three complementary and mutually reinforcing functions - conservation, development and research (Furze et al., 1996). There are currently 391 biosphere reserves in 94 countries around the world (UNESCO, 2000).

The IUCN has initiated new protected area categories such as Protected Landscapes, Multiple-Use Management Areas and Protected Areas for Local Use, all emphasising the managed human use of nature (IUCN, 1984). The protected landscape concept is based on existing areas in Europe and recognises that people are a permanent part of many natural landscapes. A protected landscape entails “durable systems of [land] use that provide economic livelihoods, are socially and spiritually satisfying, preserve the cultural identity of communities, and complement and maintain the special natural qualities of the landscape” (Lucas, 1992, p. 5).

The emergence of Biosphere Reserves and Protected Landscapes as viable forms of natural area protection illustrate the shift to socio-culturally inclusive models of park management. The exclusionary National Park model is still in use, but makes up a minority of protected areas throughout the world.

Ecosystem management is another form of protected area management that has taken up the challenge of including the socio-cultural component. Ecosystem management is an approach to natural resource administration emerging out of the United States Forest

Service. As the name suggests, ecosystem management emphasises the maintenance of all the parts and processes of the ecosystem, including human parts. When applied to protected area management, it aims to bring the complexity, dynamics and inter-relatedness of park resources and local communities into focus (Salwasser, 1999).

1.2.3 Institutional changes in park management

Concurrent with these shifts in protected area philosophy is the emergence of two themes in natural resource management - public participation and sustainable development, each necessitating a greater understanding of local people-park relationships.

Public participation

Prior to around 1980, resource management decisions were often made without public consultation or participation, despite the public's desire to be heard (Cortner, 1996). Since then, this omission has been recognised by park management agencies as a critical component of successful resource management. As an important set of stakeholders, local populations are now seen as legitimate beneficiaries of natural resource management and thus necessary contributors to the decision-making process. To achieve effective public participation with local populations, park managers need to better understand and articulate the human values associated with the park.

Sustainable local development

In developing countries, park managers are increasingly facilitating local sustainable development. Many protected natural areas are in rural areas where agrarian forms of natural resource use occur. Resource use issues faced by park management therefore have close links with rural development issues (Furze et al., 1996). This occurs particularly in situations where the livelihood of local people relates directly to park resources. Rather than excluding locals from parks, managers are now exploring opportunities to achieve both conservation and development goals. To this end, they need information on how protected resources can contribute to local development.

1.2.4 Benefits-based management

In recent years, natural resource managers have had to define and justify their identity and role. Particularly in situations where protected natural areas are publicly owned, park management is often forced, through resource scarcity, to explicitly justify budget requests. A research and management framework called benefits-based management (BBM) has emerged to aid natural resource managers in this task (Bruns & Driver, 1997). An

important component of BBM is the articulation of social benefits or outcomes² of protected area management, including those which arise at a local level.

A characteristic of a market-driven economy however, is that the concept of ‘benefit’ is largely thought of in monetary terms (Kerr & Sharp, 1987; Schreyer & Driver, 1989). When funding is scarce, there is a tendency to focus on economic efficiency and ‘rational’ means of analysis. Economic and bio-physical benefits of parks, being the most rational, therefore tend to dominate the funding allocation process. For example, benefit/cost analysis has been a favoured method for making public funding allocation decisions (Schreyer & Driver, 1989). Economic valuation methods do not adequately accommodate many social benefits, particularly those which occur at a community level and may not be noticeable to individuals (Dixon & Sherman, 1990). The inclusion of non-economic and less tangible aspects is, therefore, often left to management intuition (Lewis & Kaiser, 1991).

1.3 Aims and methods of this study

The origins of this research go back to the researcher’s exposure to BBM in the New Zealand conservation management context. The Department of Conservation (DOC, the government department responsible for public natural resources in New Zealand) has expressed interest in applying an outcomes-focused approach, which includes a requirement for information about the social outcomes of conservation. DOC recognises that it must acknowledge and measure the social outcomes of conservation management decisions to make (i) justifiable decisions based primarily on sound knowledge rather than subjective judgement and (ii) more honest and defensible claims for funding allocations for future conservation initiatives (Stephens, 1998; DOC, 1999a).

This study is exploratory in nature. Its scope has expanded past the basic concept of benefits, attempting instead to gather a broad understanding of how a local population relates to nearby protected natural areas. The primary aim of the study is:

- to investigate the different ways and means through which a local community relates to, and interacts with, nearby conservation lands.

² BBM is also known as outcomes-focused management (OFM).

The breadth of the research focus is well described by Driver, Manning and Peterson's (1996, p. 111) articulation of the social component of ecosystem management, as it applies to local populations:

"... *all* ways in which humans use, affect, are affected by, and even think about natural ecosystems. Included are human management of natural ecosystems and human use of those ecosystems in any way and for any purpose - or goods and services that are used for subsistence, for recreation, to maintain a particular lifestyle or way of life, for spiritual renewal, for maintenance of local community pride and stability and to protect regional, national and international heritage areas. Included too are all the economic transactions of nature-based goods and services, whether for economic gain of individuals and private firms or for nations to maintain a favourable national trade balance."

A multi-disciplinary approach is needed to understand such a complex set of relationships between people and their environment. Disciplines directly utilised in this study include sociology, human geography and the applied study areas of leisure and tourism.

A qualitative case-study approach, using semi-structured in-depth interviews, has been taken to gain an understanding of the local perspective of the people-park relationship³. Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, a region of high country and alpine landscape in the central South Island of New Zealand, is the case-study setting⁴. The area has a permanent population of around 150, and is surrounded by a range of different conservation lands, most notably Arthur's Pass National Park.

The study does not focus on assessing the intensity of particular aspects of the relationship between locals and the conservation lands, nor on making generalisations to other community-PNA relationships. Any generalisations that are made have the limitations inherent in the case study approach taken.

The research relies heavily on accounts given by the local population of Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. However, the study is not aimed at contributing to the political empowerment of the local population, nor to the development of their area or an improvement in their lives. Rather, the research is intended as a narrative useful for management, providing description and analysis of how the resources they manage, and the way they manage them, are viewed by the local population.

³ Chapter 3 describes the approach and methods used.

⁴ A more detailed description of the study setting is provided in Chapter 4.

Environmental determinism

Before moving on, it is worth reflecting briefly on an issue which lies at the heart of any inquiry into human-environment relationships - environmental determinism.

The environmental deterministic perspective defines human-nature relationships in terms of a straightforward stimulus-response model. Benefits of natural environments are measured and modelled as if they were a direct result of objective environmental attributes (Schroeder, 1996). This approach is potentially useful for a natural resource agency intent on practising socially-inclusive park management since it allows environmental attributes to be quantified and managed to provide desirable outcomes for local populations and visitors alike.

However, adherence to such a cause-effect belief may occur at the cost of 'the human spirit' since inherent contradictions exist in using a deterministic approach to quantify spiritual values (Schroeder, 1996). Those who argue against determinism view humans not as "passive products of their environment [but as] goal directed beings who act on their environment and are, in turn influenced by it" (Ittelson, Proshanky, Rivlin & Winkel, 1974; in Schroeder, 1996, p. 84). Giddens (1984) proposed a similar bi-directional relationship in noting that physical locations affect people and people affect and construct social meanings of those physical locations.

This thesis is based on a belief that, although the environment can be thought of as having direct control over people's behaviour in some instances, the effects of the environment on local people occur largely as a result of the meanings and significance that locals give to that environment.

1.4 Thesis structure

Six chapters provide the content of this thesis. Each is now briefly introduced.

A literature review (Chapter 2) follows this introductory chapter, describing previous studies of people-park relationships as well as providing a theoretical background to the study. Important concepts used in later discussion chapters are introduced.

Chapter 3 describes the methods and techniques used in the course of this study. The qualitative case-study approach is discussed and the details of data collection and management are provided. Ethical considerations, of particular importance in studies of small communities, are explained.

The social and physical environments in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are described in Chapter 4. The location of the area and details of the surrounding physical environment are given first. Four strands in the area's social and cultural history are then traced: the early Maori presence; the emergence of high country pastoralism in the Waimakariri Basin; the construction of road and rail arteries and the subsequent genesis of Arthur's Pass village; and finally, the growth of land protection and conservation.

Chapters 5 through 7 are theme chapters, where the researcher's analysis and interpretation of interview material and secondary data is presented. The first of these considers the role of recreation and place attachment in the people-park relationship. Focusing on lifestyle, Chapter 5 shows that recreation is an important part of living in Arthur's Pass and, for some, motivates the decision to live in the area. As well as recreation, there are various other ways that local people are attached to the conservation lands and to the environment in general.

Chapter 6 reflects on the role of conservation lands in the area's newest industry - tourism. Tourism in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is facilitated by three local conditions - the conservation lands, the road and rail arteries and the pastoral culture. Based on these three conditions, differences in how tourism has evolved in the Arthur's Pass Village and the Waimakariri Basin are explained. Local perspectives on tourism and tourists are examined.

Chapter 7 describes the relationship between the local community and the protected natural area administering agency - the Department of Conservation. Park management rangers and staff have historically been important members of the community in Arthur's Pass. The chapter presents current community members' views on DOC's local activities and suggests reasons for the predominantly negative assessments given.

Chapter 8, the conclusion, revisits the study background, integrates the findings and discusses implications for future research.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

The purpose of this literature review is to situate the current research amongst the body of knowledge surrounding people-park relationships. It informs the choice of approach and methods for this research and fills gaps in understanding.

The chapter has four sections. The first (2.1) describes previous research efforts in the field of people-park relationships. A theoretical framework for understanding people-park relationships is introduced in Section 2.2. Key aspects of people-park relationships arising from the framework are discussed. Section 2.3 introduces and explains some generic concepts that are useful in understanding people-park relationships. These concepts are referred to in later theme chapters. The final section (2.4) identifies how the literature aids understanding of the current research.

2.1 Situating the current study

This section describes previous research on people-park relationships. Studies undertaken in developing countries are briefly discussed, followed by more in-depth examination of people-park studies in developed countries. Finally, studies which shed light on people-park relationships in New Zealand are reviewed.

2.1.1 People-park research in developing countries

Most studies in developing countries have examined indigenous rural populations reliant on local natural resources (e.g. Hough, 1988; Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995; Pollisco, 1995). Instances where local populations are physically displaced from their traditional homes and resource-gathering grounds are given particular attention (e.g. Rao & Geisler, 1990; Raval, 1994). The focus has been on balancing local development needs (such as poverty alleviation) with the biodiversity and conservation aims of protected natural areas (e.g. Rao & Geisler, 1990; West & Brechin, 1991; Wells & Brandon, 1992; Furze et al., 1996).

The Social Impact Assessment (SIA) approach has been widely used in people-park studies in developing countries (Geisler, 1993, provides a list of such SIA studies). SIA involves the methodical collection and analysis of social data through techniques such as direct observation, interviewing, surveys and collection of demographic and economic statistics

(Hough, 1991). SIA studies typically examine the social effects of a new protected area, either in predictive fashion (ex ante) or after the event (post facto).

2.1.2 People-park research in developed countries

In developed countries, both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been used to examine people-park relationships. Studies using each approach are now reviewed.

Quantitative people-park research

Many of the studies undertaken in developed countries have relied upon quantitative methods to describe local social effects of protected natural areas (e.g. Nickels, Milne & Wenzel, 1992; Manning & Valliere, 1995) and/or focus on their local economic outcomes (e.g. Mortensen, Leistritz, Leitch, Coon & Ekstrom, 1990; Dawson, Blahna & Keith, 1993; Elsasser, Seiler & Schuerer, 1995). Social Impact Assessment (SIA) methods have also been used to examine social effects of protected natural areas on local people (e.g. Payne, Rollins, Tamm & Nelson, 1992; Fortin & Gagnon, 1999).

Results from these studies highlight both positive and negative relationships between parks and local people. On the positive side, parks are perceived to provide advantages such as available recreation, living close to natural features, improved public services (police, fire fighters) and a lack of undesirable social conditions like unemployment, crime and drug abuse. On the negative side, parks are seen to limit opportunities for farming and industry, restrict traditional resource gathering activities and reduce the availability of land for public services and housing.

A strong component of tourism-related effects, both social and economic, is evident in such quantitative studies. Influxes of park visitors typically stimulate local economies, encourage tourism development, provide jobs and improve local facilities. Less desirable effects include increased land prices and local taxes, more traffic and pollution, increased crime and seasonal influxes of outside workers. Such effects are typical of tourism destination impacts. Further detail on tourism impact research is provided in Section 2.3.3, along with explanation of some relevant tourism concepts.

Qualitative people-park research

Relatively few researchers have attempted to understand people-park relationships from the park neighbour perspective, using a qualitative approach (Raval, 1994). However, two recent research efforts in Norway and Australia used interview-based methods on rural landowners to examine neighbour-park relationships.

The Norwegian study (Kaltenborn, Riese & Hundeide, 1999) examined factors affecting farmers' willingness to participate in local protected area planning and therefore included a focus on perceptions of management. It identified shared notions of land stewardship among local farmers. Park management was generally mistrusted since managers were seen as outsiders. The local identification or attachment to the land was based on the past, on a history of everyday life patterns and activities. This contrasted with managers' association with the land based on the present. Overall, local farmers were uncertain about the purpose of land protection and management.

Brown and Lipscombe (1999) used a similar approach to examine changes in lifestyle for landowners adjacent to a new national park in New South Wales, Australia. Park neighbours felt they had a more regulated and restricted lifestyle after gazettal. Management issues mentioned included feral animal and fire control, pests, watershed protection and commercial opportunities. The negative effect of the national park on the local timber industry was considered a major disadvantage to the community, necessitating relocation of some families. Access and privacy concerns were raised regarding visitors crossing private property to gain entry to the park.

2.1.3 Studies in the New Zealand context

Few studies specifically on local community-park relationships in New Zealand were found. A socio-economic impact study has been conducted in communities near Kahurangi National Park (Taylor, Gough, Warren & McClintock, 1999). Further information relevant to potential local outcomes from conservation management in New Zealand is found in proposals for national park designation.

Kahurangi National Park

A post-facto analysis of socio-economic impacts of Kahurangi National Park (Taylor, et al., 1999), which was carried out in local rural communities three years after gazettal, reveals a number of pertinent issues.

Locals felt that the upkeep of tracks, huts and access roads was not adequate in light of the area's national park status. There was a perception that the local DOC administration was 'pulling out strategically placed huts' and that popular longer tracks were being maintained at the expense of shorter and less popular tracks in the area. Locals had suggestions for track and hut development, although there was little actual community involvement in this. Local DOC staff felt that they could not build new tracks, given their funding at that time.

Poorly maintained access roads were cited by locals as hampering prospects for both visitors and locals to gain benefit from the Park (Taylor et al., 1999).

Access by helicopter was also an issue. The large increase in helicopter use since gazettal was given varying degrees of support from locals. Some believed that helicopters were beneficial for tourism because they enabled tourists to get into the park. Others who were involved in tramping-tourism described the helicopters as invasive (Taylor et al., 1999).

The Park's gazettal in 1996 effectively removed mountain biking as a legal activity in the Park, causing a major reduction in the number of cyclists passing through the nearby communities. The lack of mountain bike access into the park was a contentious issue for tourist operators who serviced that sector of the industry (Taylor et al., 1999). In addition, farmers in the area were unsure about whether DOC has the resources to implement necessary weed control programmes and control fires on the land they managed.

National park proposals

Proposals for Punakaiki and northwest South Island National Parks on the West Coast (National Parks and Reserves Authority [NPRA], 1985; DOC, 1993) and Kauri National Park in Northland (New Zealand Conservation Authority [NZCA], 1995) viewed the economic implications of tourism as potentially the most beneficial social and economic aspect of park designation. Community benefits from a national park in Northland were anticipated to be primarily from opportunities created by increased tourism (NZCA, 1995). Punakaiki National Park¹ was considered to be a potentially important focus in a regional tourism and recreation package, contributing to a diverse and sustainable regional economy (NPRA, 1985). The flow-on effects from the Park's tourism was anticipated to increase the viability of social services such as sewerage systems, water supply, hospital, schools, transport services (Stephens & Wells, 1983). Similarly, the application of national park status on an existing forest park in north-west Nelson² was predicted to enhance the existing tourism industry and provide opportunities for local communities to become more economically viable (DOC, 1993).

¹ This was eventually gazetted as Paparoa National Park in 1987.

² The former NorthWest Nelson Forest Park was gazetted as Kahurangi National Park in 1996.

The future of natural resource industries (such as timber and mineral extraction) was a key concern for local communities in the park proposals mentioned above. Inability to realise local social and economic benefits of indigenous logging, for example, is a valid impact of protected natural area designation and management. Loss of extraction rights for minerals, timber, water and agricultural resources demanded serious consideration in all three national park investigations.

2.1.4 Summary of people-park literature

Overseas literature indicates complex relationships between local people and protected natural areas, including both positive and negative social outcomes. Living close to nature and recreational opportunities are benefits, while land use restrictions are common disbenefits. Locals' identification with surroundings is a key finding, as is the potential for uneven relationships between protected area management and local people. Social and economic effects of tourism are commonly felt.

New Zealand research has focused primarily on economic benefits of protected areas, particularly those related to tourism, and their flow-on effects to local communities. Restrictions on resource use are significant issues. Relationships between locals and protected area management agencies vary. Locals with commercial or resource-use interests (such as tourism operators and farmers) are less positive towards park management than other local stakeholders.

The studies reviewed to this point have attempted a broad description of how local people are influenced by protected natural areas. However, the various aspects of the relationship are not clarified. This lack of detail is addressed in the next section, which describes individual aspects of people-park relationships in greater depth.

2.2 Key aspects of people-park relationships

This section examines local community-park relationships on a more theoretical basis. A framework consisting of six key aspects of people-park relationships is given. Each aspect is then discussed.

Relationships between people and protected natural areas have two basic forms: biophysical and human (Garratt, 1984). Biophysical relationships include such things as air and water pollution, exotic species and fires, which can move between a park and its surrounding areas (Zube, 1995). The actual dynamics of these biophysical processes are

outside the scope of this study. However, local attitudes towards them are part of a people-park relationship and therefore merit inclusion.

Frameworks for understanding the human dimension of local people-park relationships (Lucas, 1984; Zube & Busch, 1990) include five key aspects - intrinsic values, recreation, tourism³, local participation and traditional land use. In addition, the importance of relationships between protected area management agencies and local populations arose in research described in the previous section (Kaltenborn, et al., 1999; Brown & Lipscombe, 1999). Therefore six key factors can be identified in local community-park relationships (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: A framework for people-park relationships

1. Intrinsic value - The protected natural area can be a source of intrinsic value. By promoting the natural heritage values that belong in the hearts and minds of people, protected natural areas can contribute to a community's needs for identity and pride.
2. Recreation - Protected natural areas can provide a resource for the constructive use of leisure time in positive, healthy outdoor recreation.
3. Tourism - A protected natural area can be a tourism resource and provide possibilities for local development. Local people can be employed as handicraft manufacturers and guides or be involved in service provision, such as transportation, accommodation and food.
4. Relationship between management and locals - The protected natural area management agency can influence local people's lives through restrictions on activity, employment opportunities or integration in the community. Attitudes of the two groups towards each other influence the quality of the relationship.
5. Traditional land use - Protected natural area management can accommodate traditional land uses within and adjacent to the park, such as hunting, agriculture, religious practices and pastoralism.
6. Local participation - Local involvement in the protected natural area can include ownership of protected natural area resources, living within the protected natural area, participating in management decision making or serving on conservation advisory committees.

Source: adapted and expanded by this author from Lucas (1984) and Zube & Busch (1990)

³ Although recreation and tourism are strongly related at a conceptual level in leisure literature, they are quite separate in the context of local people-park relationships. Recreation refers to the recreation activities undertaken by local people (usually on park land), while tourism refers to the industry that is built on facilitating and catering to visitors. The frequently-asked question of whether or not visiting recreationists should be classified as tourists is irrelevant in this context.

These six aspects of people-park relationships are elaborated in the following sections (2.2.1 - 2.2.6). The conceptual understanding behind each is described and empirical research is reviewed where possible.

2.2.1 Intrinsic values

Before looking at intrinsic values associated with parks, it is useful to briefly discuss the philosophical debate surrounding environmental values.

Values have been described as “... individual and collective conceptions that have emotional and symbolic components about what is important or desirable” (Henning & Mangun, 1989, p. 5). Environmental values may be either intrinsic (where the valuable entity is an end to itself) or instrumental (where value is a means to achieve a purpose for an outside entity, such as a person) (Lockwood, 1995). Distinction is also made between anthropocentric (human-centred) and non-anthropocentric (non-human-centred) values. However, conceptual difficulties arise when this distinction is applied to the notion of intrinsic environmental values. An obvious query is, how can a human-centred value of a natural environment not be instrumental in some way? Despite this, Hargrove (1989) argues that anthropocentric intrinsic values do exist; that humans have for centuries valued nature for its own sake, without regard to its human uses. Lockwood (1995) also supports the existence of anthropocentric intrinsic values, pointing to a widespread belief that humans have obligations to the natural world, which arise from the intrinsic value of animals, plants and ecosystems.

The term ‘intrinsic value’, as used in this thesis, refers to non-anthropocentric values (although these are rarely expressed) as well as values that involve benefit to people, but not in any material or consumptive way, shape or form. Material environmental values, such as economic, scientific or physiological worth (via recreation) are more generally referred to as plain ‘values’ of the natural environment or else fall within the scope of ‘benefits’ described in the following section (2.2.2).

This section focuses initially on those human-centred intrinsic values which can characterise relationships between people and natural environments. Emotional, symbolic and spiritual connections between people and natural environments are described. Non-use values, identified from the econometric approach to natural environment valuation, are also illustrated.

The intrinsic values defined above refer to those human-nature relationships that are based on the fundamental and ‘true’ qualities of nature. Lucas (1984) described them as “... belonging in the hearts and minds of people” (see Table 2.1 above). As such, they constitute an abstract topic, dealing with “... feelings, thoughts and values that are ethereal and intangible and, therefore, hard to define and measure” (Driver, Dustin, Baltic, Elsener & Peterson, 1996, p. 5). Closely aligned with these sorts of intrinsic values are the emotional, symbolic and spiritual dimensions of a natural environment experience (Schroeder, 1995; in Canadian Parks and Recreation Association [CPRA], 1997). These dimensions are described in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Personal dimensions of natural environment experiences

Emotional value - People’s experiences of particular places and types of environments can invoke strong feelings.
Symbolic value - Particular environments are symbolically linked to memories of important events and people, to history and to personal and cultural identities and values.
Spiritual value - Experiences of natural environments are linked to people’s deepest and most central beliefs about their relationship to a greater reality.

Source: Schroeder (1995; in CPRA, 1997, p. 53)

A qualitative examination of people’s experiences of natural environments (Dwyer, Schroeder & Gobster, 1991; in Schroeder, 1996) showed that strong emotional ties can exist between people and elements of natural settings such as trees and forests. Mitchell, Force, Carroll and McLaughlin (1993) found that natural features help to create feelings of identification and belonging in forest environments.

The deepest and strongest connections between people and the natural environment may give rise to spiritual experiences in which people feel a sense of connection with a larger reality that helps give meaning to their lives (Schroeder, 1991). Spiritual outcomes are suggested to include the capacity to engage in spiritual expression and gain a greater sense of appreciation for the environment and the community of life. In a similar vein, experiences on conservation lands can encourage new perceptions and provide opportunities for creative thought (McDonald & Schreyer, 1991).

Qualitative research in this area suggests that a great many spiritual and psychological values associated with place experiences are based on an encounter with the unfamiliar, unknown or uncontrolled (Roberts, 1996). Results of informal interviews about wilderness experiences with a small number of New Zealand women (Johnston & Dann, 1989) illustrate how some of the values described above may be expressed. A strong spiritual

theme was evident through references to ‘spiritual regeneration’, ‘feeling in touch with yourself’, ‘being in harmony with the environment’, and ‘putting life in perspective’.

As well as qualitative contributions to intrinsic values, the econometric (primarily quantitative) approach has been used to clarify how people value a natural environment. From the econometric perspective, Stephens and Wallace (1993) differentiate between ‘use’ and ‘non-use’ values that people can place on a protected natural area (see Table 2.3 below).

Table 2.3: Non-use values of protected natural areas

Existence value - A person values a protected landscape or species even though they have no expectation of ever visiting or experiencing it.
Option value - People value the option to visit or experience a protected natural area sometime in the future.
Bequest value - The value that people put on the handing down of a positive natural heritage legacy to future generations.

Source: Stephens and Wallace, 1993, p. 201

The classification shown in Table 2.3 fails to articulate the values as such (a limitation inherent in many econometric valuation techniques). However, it does emphasise that local people do not necessarily need to gain direct material or psychological advantage from a protected natural area in order to value or give meaning to it.

2.2.2 Outdoor recreation - motivations and benefits

This section introduces two key concepts in local people’s recreational use of conservation lands - motivations and benefits. Some of the benefits and motivations described in this section are associated with intrinsic values, but are not included in the previous section because they have a strong recreational element.

A motivational approach to leisure and recreation attempts to answer the question of “why?” Two important aspects of the basic “why?” question are: “what are the motivations for future behaviour?” and “what are the satisfactions derived?” (Kelly & Godbey, 1992, p. 225). Both aspects need to be considered for an understanding of motivations for outdoor recreation.

Motivations are the psychological mechanisms which control the direction, intensity and persistence of behaviour (Kanfer, 1994; in Iso Ahola, 1999). Optimal arousal and an often-made distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are concepts useful for an understanding of why people participate in outdoor recreation. Optimal arousal refers

to the human tendency to seek out optimal challenges where they can use and test their skills and master new experiences. Such self-determined and competence-elevating experiences are central to the notion of intrinsic leisure motivation (Iso-Ahola, 1999). Pearce (1993, p. 121) defines intrinsic motivation as “behaviour conducted for its own sake”, as opposed to extrinsic motivation, which is “behaviour under the control of outside rewards”.

Motivations for outdoor recreation are diverse and influenced by attitudes, expectations and preferences of users (Manning, 1999). Some typical outdoor recreation motivations from North American literature include shared enjoyment, escape, self-esteem and achievement, and the desire to be in a beautiful environment (Schreyer, 1986). Each is articulated in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Common motivations for outdoor recreation

Shared enjoyment - Away from the rigidly structured interactions of everyday life, outdoor recreation interactions provide the flexibility to better define ourselves and our place in the social world. They are a form of self affirmation.

Escape - In contrast to normal environments, natural outdoor recreation settings are often quieter, less demanding and have more natural and fewer man-made features. They hence fulfil our needs to “blow off steam”, “give the mind a rest”, “get away from it all” or, “seek a change of pace”.

Self-esteem & achievement - In an increasingly regulated society, personal autonomy is becoming more limited, yet the need for people to define and understand themselves as individuals remains. Recreation in natural environments presents opportunities for people to satisfy these needs by testing themselves, gaining understanding of their capabilities and finding personal meaning.

Aesthetically pleasing environments - As urbanisation and population concentration increases, so too does appreciation of natural settings as places maintaining beauty and natural integrity. Outdoor recreation is often an opportunity for first hand experience of beautiful natural settings and thus contributes to quality of life.

Source: Schreyer, 1986

Based on empirical study of recreationists in a New Zealand national park, Devlin (1976; in Moore, 1995) categorised outdoor recreation motivations into six types: exit civilisation; aesthetic-religious; physical challenge; sociability; simple lifestyle; and individual-intellectual. These forms of motivations have been largely supported by subsequent research in New Zealand (Moore, 1995). Simmons (1980) and Espiner (1995), who used a similar classification as a basis for examining recreationists’ motivations in Arthur’s Pass National Park (the key piece of conservation land in the study area for the current research), found that ‘aesthetic/religious’, ‘exit civilisation’, activity-based and social motivations were most important.

Related to motivations are the concepts of needs and satisfaction. Needs are seen to be met when an activity results in satisfaction of the need. In the outdoor recreation literature, satisfaction is understood as an emotional evaluation based on motivations for and results of an activity; or as the match between expectations and results (Moore, 1995). Studies of satisfaction in outdoor recreation have shown it to be a complex and multi-dimensional concept. Because so many factors unrelated to the actual recreation activity influence satisfaction, it tends to remain high across a range of settings and experiences. A number of coping behaviours, including rationalisation, are also thought to contribute to the widespread reporting of high satisfaction (Manning, 1999).

While satisfactions are an assessment of the experience itself, the concept of benefit also refers to the outcomes arising after a recreation activity. Driver, Brown and Peterson (1991a) define leisure benefit as referring to "... a change that is viewed to be advantageous – an improvement in condition, or a gain to an individual, a group, to society, or to another entity" (p. 4). This perspective on leisure benefits has since been extended to include two further aspects, (i) maintenance of desirable conditions and prevention of unwanted conditions and (ii) realisation of satisfying psychological experiences (Driver, 1997).

Application of the benefit concept to leisure has led to a large number of studies into the outcomes of outdoor recreation (Driver, Brown & Peterson (1991b) and CPRA (1997) synthesise the results of many of these studies). CPRA (1997) draws links between recreation and several elements of individual and community well-being, including personal health, human development, quality of life, family and community strength and reductions in anti-social behaviour. Driver and Bruns (1999) also collate an extensive collection of leisure and recreation benefits under similar categories. A selection of leisure benefits from both of these sources is presented in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: Benefits attributed to leisure and recreation

Essential for personal health
Increased life expectancy; reduced risk of coronary heart disease and stroke; combats osteoporosis and diabetes; prevents site specific cancers; helps prevent and rehabilitate back problems; respiratory benefits; reduced or prevented hypertension; stress mitigation; contributes to mental health.
Key to balanced human development
Development of motor skills, social skills, creativity and intellectual capacities in children and youth; lifelong opportunity for adults to develop their full and holistic potential; medium for exploring spirituality; self-confidence; self-reliance; environmental awareness and understanding.
Enhances personal appreciation and satisfaction
Sense of freedom; self-actualisation; self-affirmation; stimulation; sense of adventure; challenge; quality of life and/or life satisfaction; creative expression; nature appreciation; positive change in mood or emotion
Builds strong families and healthy communities
Family bonding; produce leaders; build social skills; catalyse strong self-sufficient communities; build community pride; greater community involvement in environmental decision making; understanding and tolerance of others; reduced anti-social behaviour in youth; developmental benefits of children

Source: adapted by this author from CPRA (1997) and Driver and Bruns (1999)

The benefits identified in Table 2.5 are based on research into all types of recreation and leisure activities. Nevertheless, most seem likely to be significant for people living nearby conservation areas with outdoor recreation facilities.

Individual processes and changes associated with outdoor recreation participation have been described here with a view to inform understanding of local people's perspectives. Motivations for and benefits of outdoor recreation provide useful perspectives on what recreation on conservation lands may mean to local people. However, outdoor recreation facilities in a protected natural area, and its aesthetic and conservation qualities, may not only be attractive to locals, they can also lure visitors. The implications of such tourism on a rural community nearby conservation land are considered in the next section.

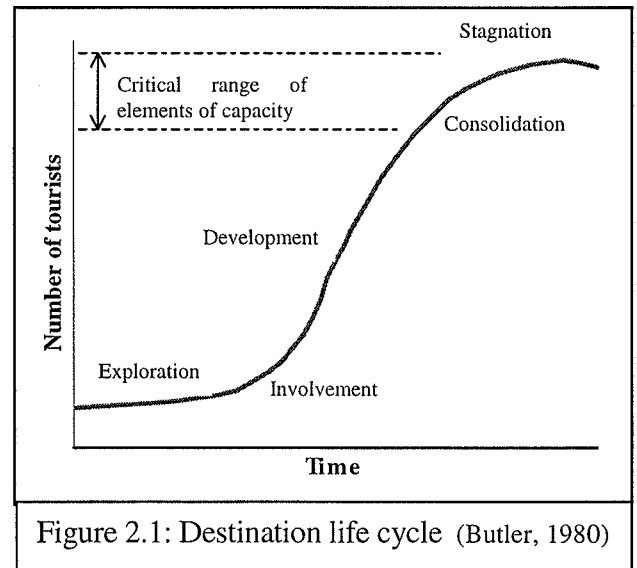
2.2.3 Social effects of protected natural area tourism

Many localised social effects of protected natural areas are tourism-related, arising from the visitors who are attracted to the area and the way the tourism industry grows to serve them. This section briefly explores destination impact theories and empirical research on tourism effects.

Conceptualising socio-cultural impacts of tourism

Murphy (1985, p. 117) describes social impacts of tourism as “... the more immediate changes of quality of life and adjustment to the [tourism] industry in destination communities”, drawing distinction from cultural impacts which focus on “... the longer term changes in a society’s norms and standards”. Both these forms of change can occur as a result of protected natural area tourism.

Interest in modelling tourism’s social and cultural effects began with Doxey’s (1975) landmark study of resident attitudes towards tourists. From this arose a model describing how resident attitudes evolve through a number of stages, from euphoria to apathy to antagonism, as a tourism industry develops in a community. Butler’s (1980) tourist area lifecycle (Figure 2.1) made the link between resident attitudes and the level of tourism development more explicit. It suggested that in the initial stages of tourism, residents are enthusiastic because of the perceived economic benefits. Such feelings reverse later, when destination capacity is reached



and there are undesirable changes in the physical environment and the numbers and types of tourists arriving.

The differences between certain types of tourists have been described in various tourist typologies (e.g. Smith, 1989). The earliest of these, by Plog (1972), visualised a continuum between psychocentric tourists (who are inward looking, safety conscious and seek the familiar) and allocentric tourists (who are outward looking, prepared to take risks and happy to experience the unfamiliar). Plog (1972) suggested that the majority of tourists exhibit characteristics from mid-way between the two extremes.

While recognised as being over-simplistic, the models of Plog (1972), Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980) set an effective framework for much of the research into social impacts of tourism undertaken in the last twenty years.

The relationship between host and tourist is considered crucial to local perceptions of socio-cultural impact (Pearce, 1982). Mathieson and Wall (1982) identified two key

factors which influence the degree to which hosts tolerate tourists: tourist-host disparity and destination capacity. The cultural and economic distance between tourists and hosts affects local tolerance - the greater the divergence of characteristics, the more pronounced are the social impacts. Also, destinations and local populations vary in their capacity to physically and psychologically absorb tourist arrivals without undermining or squeezing out desirable local activities. Host resentment is therefore likely to be intensified if visitor numbers greatly exceed the size of the local population and visitors overwhelm local services and facilities (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). It is also widely acknowledged that tourism-induced socio-cultural change operates within broader processes of regional and societal change (Noronha, 1979; in Ap & Crompton, 1998). Attributing changes in the local socio-cultural environment solely to tourism can therefore be misleading.

Socio-cultural impact research

Findings from tourism impact research can be divided into two broad areas: (i) identification of actual and perceived impacts of tourism and (ii) relationships between perceptions of tourism impact and various situational variables. Each area is now described.

There is extensive empirical literature on socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Impacts described here cover many of the tourism-related effects described in overseas people-park studies (Section 2.2.1). Impacts relevant in an area such as Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin include economic benefits, such as increased employment, improved public utilities and transport services (e.g. Liu & Var, 1986; Perdue, Long & Allen, 1990; White, 1993). Social benefits can include increased availability of social and recreational infrastructure and facilities (e.g. Sheldon & Var, 1984; Keogh, 1990). Research has shown cultural benefits, such as improved understanding of different cultures, promotion of local exchange and preservation of local culture (e.g. Stringer, 1981; Liu & Var, 1986). Negative outcomes include increased costs of real estate, accommodation and groceries (e.g. Perdue, Long & Allen, 1990) and resource contention, infrastructure overload and noise from tourism activities (e.g. Keogh, 1990; Ap & Crompton, 1993).

Situational variables found to influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts include degree of local control, tourist density, distance of residence from the tourist zone, attachment to community, use of the tourism resource area, level of education, ecocentric attitude, economic dependence on tourism, perceived potential for economic gain from tourism and perceived cultural distance between host and guest (Um & Crompton, 1987;

Ap, 1990; Allen, Hafer, Long & Perdue, 1993; McCool & Martin, 1994; Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997; Korca, 1998).

Qualitative studies of social tourism effects

The majority of the tourism studies outlined above used quantitative methods to understand perceptions of tourism and its impacts on communities. Qualitative tourism impact studies provide greater depth of understanding of host perceptions. Two of these studies are now described.

Strategies used by residents for coping with tourism have been examined through interview methods (Ap & Crompton, 1993). Results were placed on a reaction continuum based on four coping strategies: embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal. The researchers noted that at any time there can be a diversity of reactions to tourism in a community and that these reactions will manifest in different behavioural strategies. In contrast to the progressive and uni-directional model suggested by Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980), all four strategies may be evident at one time in a community, and over time residents are likely to shift between strategies.

A rare longitudinal study (Kariel, 1993) used a qualitative approach to determine residents' perceptions, evaluations and ideas about societal changes related to tourism in an Austrian alpine community. From early interviews, the researcher detected a shift in resident's dependence from agriculture to tourism. Residents' comments suggested a change from the collective and co-operative community, which had existed in the agricultural community prior to tourism, to an individual and material concern. This was highlighted by a perceived rivalry between citizens to serve tourists. Interviews eleven years later showed that family life, which initially suffered as tourism became established, was given more priority as residents learnt to establish a degree of distance from guests.

2.2.4 Relationships between management and locals

This section looks at relationships between resource management agencies and local communities. It begins by briefly describing how park managers in New Zealand and New South Wales approach such relationships. It then goes on to summarise studies on community relations undertaken in New Zealand.

In New Zealand, the Department of Conservation's approach to community relations⁴ is aimed towards community involvement in heritage conservation (DOC, 1998a). The generic goals for community relations include:

- greater public understanding of DOC's work, and conservation in general;
- greater public support for and confidence in DOC;
- positive relationships with key stakeholders and the wider community; and
- greater community involvement and ownership of conservation.

DOC recognises that the support of neighbours is central to the success of conservation projects. In presenting guidelines for conservation project planners, DOC (1999b, p. 6) notes that "locals can directly and actively help with [conservation projects], but, on the other hand, they can also undermine the success of a project if they are not treated in a professional and proper way". The recent creation of positions for community relations staff indicates DOC's intent to include local communities in conservation.

The New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW NPWS) in Australia places neighbour relations⁵ alongside fire management and pest management as key areas of its relationship with the community at large. The NSW NPWS sees effective communication, consultation and co-operative action as keys to good neighbour relations (Webber, 1997).

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Department of Conservation in community relations, there is inevitably a degree of public anti-DOC sentiment. Anti-management sentiment within stakeholders is thought to arise from two possible sources, (i) the perception of natural resource management as arrogant and ineffective and (ii) the reaction to perceptions of inequity in delivery (Decker, Brown & Knuth, 1996). Such attitudes are evident in studies of relationships between DOC and various communities/stakeholder groups throughout New Zealand (DOC, 1992; DOC, 1998b).

⁴ The Department of Conservation uses the term 'community' in a broad sense, referring to the New Zealand population in general rather than specific populations close to conservation lands.

⁵ NSW NPWS recognises that whole "neighbour communities" can be affected by their activities, not just "next door neighbours" or those with a common boundary

A nation-wide telephone survey of the general public (Angus, 2000) found that overall awareness of DOC in New Zealand is almost universal. Functions most commonly attributed to DOC were native species protection and natural area protection. Awareness of DOC's role in providing outdoor recreation activities was comparatively low. It can be expected that awareness of DOC's functions will be considerably higher in a community adjacent to protected natural areas.

A qualitative study of community attitudes towards tourism development was undertaken in Makarora (a rural South Island community in a high country/alpine environment similar to Arthur's Pass) (Casey, 1991). Local Department of Conservation staff were praised for maintaining good relationships with locals. The Department was credited with providing a fire fighting vehicle to the community. Any conflicts that arose were blamed on DOC regulations rather than individuals. There was a feeling among some locals that park management should be as much concerned with preserving the way of life of people in the area as with natural features.

A study into the perceptions of several of DOC's associate groups (DOC, 1992) revealed a general positive perception of the Department. However, negative perceptions by pastoral leaseholders, farming/forestry interests and tourism operators are noteworthy. Pastoral leaseholders and farmers more often mentioned a lack of communication, idealistic staff and hidden agendas within the Department. They disagreed with the statement that DOC was 'quite practical'. The commercial operators viewed the Department as being over-protective and inconsistent.

A later review of DOC's community consultation processes (DOC, 1998b) also yielded information on attitudes towards the Department. There was a widespread view among those with whom DOC consulted that DOC staff undervalue the conservation knowledge of people outside the Department and their commitment to conservation values. Wide differences in attitudes of staff in different offices (some better, some worse) were also mentioned. The consequences of this perceived arrogance included damaged relationships between communities and the Department, as well as less opportunity for DOC to take advantage of local knowledge and resources. Poor relationships between DOC and the community were seen to hamper consultation processes.

2.2.5 Traditional land use

Traditional land use within protected natural areas can include fishing, hunting, collection of plants, agriculture, logging, pastoralism, mining, water use and tourism; each can occur on a subsistence or commercial basis. However, there is debate over what kinds of use (if any) are appropriate in protected areas, and whether sustainable use is possible. Those with preservationist ideals argue for maintaining large areas of protected land with as little human use as possible, while a more moderate position recognises that what is appropriate at each site will depend on local social and ecological factors (Brandon, 1998). Final decisions about what forms of resource use to allow are central to park management's role in local development.

There is world-wide conflict and debate over resource extraction in protected natural areas. Such conflicts have occurred in protected natural areas in New Zealand and Australia over resource extraction such as agriculture, forestry, mining and hydro-electric dams (Molloy, 1984; Bosworth, 1984). A change towards acceptance of commercial resource use within protected areas is evident in New Zealand's newest and second largest national park, Kahurangi, where the boundaries were drawn to exclude land valuable for development, including a prospective mining area, a hydro reservoir, sphagnum moss harvesting area and land subject to Maori land claims (Pawson, 1996).

In New Zealand, resource use on protected land is regulated through a concession or permit framework. A concession is an official authorisation to undertake a commercial venture in an area administered by the Department of Conservation. Tourism-based activities, skiing, guiding, education, accommodation, grazing, filming and beehives are some of the operations that require a concession lease or license. Mining is not covered by concession and requires a separate form of authorisation. Concessionaires pay for the privilege of obtaining commercial benefits from the protected land. To be accepted by DOC, proposed concession operations must be consistent with DOC plans for the area and have, at worst, an acceptable level of negative effect on the environment (DOC, 1996).

2.2.6 Local participation

Community participation in PNA management is not a major theme in this study. Nevertheless, for completeness, a short overview of public participation in PNA management is given here.

From an international survey of relationships between local populations and protected areas, Zube and Busch (1990, p. 122) identified three ways in which local participation in a park can occur:

- through ownership of park land, in-park residence and traditional uses of park resources;
- by serving as park administrators or some other form of participation in park administration; and
- by employment on the park staff.

All three of these paths to participation occur in the New Zealand context. The *Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998* allows for local iwi input into management of certain conservation lands as well as traditional resource gathering. Conservation legislation allows all members of local populations to participate in decision-making processes regarding nearby protected areas. This can occur through writing submissions about proposed changes in conservation land management, attending meetings of local conservation boards, or becoming a conservation board member. Finally, DOC makes widespread use of local labour resources when managing and maintaining conservation lands.

2.2.7 Interim summary

Section 2.2 has illustrated six elements of local people-park relationships. Intrinsic values and outdoor recreation are important ways that local people can connect with the protected land in a physical, psychological and spiritual manner. Protected natural area tourism stimulates local economies but also contributes to socio-cultural change in local communities. PNA management, through its role in local-agency interactions, regulation of resource use on protected land and acceptance of traditional land use on adjacent land plays an important role in local people-park relationships. Management can also facilitate the participation of local populations in its administration and maintenance of a PNA.

To this point, the literature review has set an empirical and conceptual basis for an understanding of local people-park relationships. The focus now turns to some more generic concepts from the disciplines of human geography and sociology. The concepts are applied in later theme chapters.

2.3 Additional concepts important to this study

This section discusses two concepts regarding people-environment relationships which are relevant to the course of this study. Place attachment is introduced as a way of looking at how residents and bach owners⁶ in the study area relate to the natural environment around them. Forms of attachment based on recreation and community are described. The life-cycle concept is also introduced, and provides a useful framework for later discussion about how participants' lifestyles change when they arrive in a community near a protected natural area.

2.3.1 Place and place attachment

Relationships between people and places are central to place attachment, a concept which has emerged in the last 25 years from the fields of human geography and environmental psychology (Williams & Patterson, 1996). These perspectives describe people-place relationships in terms of meanings that individuals, families or groups give to various aspects of a place - in particular its bio-physical, social and symbolic characteristics. The 'creation of place' is synonymous with 'place attachment' and is often referred to as 'sense of place'.

Place itself is seen as undifferentiated space which has been endowed with value by personal, group or cultural processes (Tuan, 1977). Following this broad definition, a number of more detailed descriptions of place have been suggested (e.g. Violich, 1985; Low & Altman, 1992; Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; and Kaltenborn, 1997). Each identifies a combination of factors contributing to place attachment, including objective attributes of the place as well as socially and culturally driven perceptions of the place.

Violich (1985, p. 113) suggests that "places exist only with reference to people, and the meaning of place can be revealed only in terms of human responses to the particular environment used as a framework for daily living". Violich (1985) goes on to identify

⁶ The term 'bach' is used in New Zealand to refer to a small holiday home on the seashore, riverside or in a pocket of native bush. Baches are traditionally made of cheap materials and have rudimentary facilities, although tightening building regulations and increasing development pressures for new holiday homes are undermining the place of 'the bach' in New Zealand culture (Cox, 1995). There are an estimated 40,000 baches in New Zealand (Thompson, 1985).

three basic sources from which place derives. The first is the character of the natural environment, including its topography, land patterns, and ecology. The second source is the built environment, in which the spatial structures and the way in which land is used determine the meaning a place has for a community. The third source is the people and their cultural identity. The physical form of a place and the activities it facilitates reflect the culture of those who use it. Similarly, Kaltenborn (1997) proposes that people, infrastructure, landscape elements, and bio-ecological and socio-cultural processes all contribute to place creation. Intertwined with this basic structure are individuals' perceptions, traditions, meanings and values, creating a concept of place that is "fluid and often idiosyncratic in an inter-subjective sense" (Kaltenborn, 1997, p.177).

Based on Giddens' (1984) observation that physical locations affect people and people affect and construct social meanings of those physical locations, Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) see place creation as predicated on two factors, (i) the social and cultural contexts in which people describe and define a space into a place and (ii) the nature of a given space. Low and Altman (1992) define these two aspects of place attachment in terms of affective sentiments (emotions and feelings) and cognitive beliefs (knowledge and thought) about a place. In addition, connection to place can be action- or behaviour-oriented or based on social relations or temporal aspects. Places thus exist in many sizes and shapes and can be tangible or symbolic, known and experienced or potential and unknown (Low & Altman, 1992).

Within the context of this study, attachment to the natural environment is of prime interest. However, as the above conceptualisations indicate, denial of the role of local structures, land uses and socio-cultural characteristics in attachment to place would be a violation of the concept itself. Attachment to a natural environment is irretrievably tied to local artefacts of society and culture.

The forms of place attachment described here can equally be used to explain recreationists' connection to their favourite recreational settings. However, there has been specific attention given to recreational place attachment, as explained below.

Recreational and community place attachment

Human geographers claim that outdoor recreation can lead to place attachment or 'sense of place' in an individual (Williams & Patterson, 1996). Recreationists can develop feelings of value and identification with recreation settings. Following the cognitive and affective components of place attachment identified above by Low and Altman (1992), researchers

have suggested a separation between functional or instrumental elements of a recreational place and the emotional or symbolic meanings assigned to it by users (Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck & Watson, 1992; Moore & Graefe, 1994). A recreation site can have meaning or value because it is convenient for achieving a desired experience and/or because it represents something special to users - based on such things as previous experiences, past acquaintances, cultural importance or personal beliefs. The separation can be blurred however, since the functionality of a recreation site can be as much a product of individual preference as of objective site attributes (Williams & Carr, 1993).

Factors thought to influence the formation of place attachment to recreational settings include geographic proximity to the site, ease of access, frequency and quality of experiences, and the sense that the place is special beyond any consumptive use of its resources (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995). The two latter factors may relate to the socio-cultural background of the person, e.g. their definition of a 'quality' experience or environmental values.

A community can also be a point of attachment. Hummon (1992) concluded that community attachment (conceived as emotional ties to the local area), along with community satisfaction and community identification, are components of community sentiment. Sentimental ties to local places are the product of people's perception of the local community, their social position and objective qualities of the community, both as a built and social environment. Longevity of residence increases sentimental ties to a community (Hummon, 1992).

2.3.2 Life-path frameworks

Change is an inevitable part of a person's existence and leisure is no exception to this. The changing personal and social situations that people pass through during their lives are addressed by sociological life-path frameworks such as the Family Life Cycle (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975) and the Life Course Model (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). These models identify specific periods in people's lives when social context encourages particular lifestyles and leisure patterns.

Kelly and Godbey's (1992) Life Course Model (Figure 2.2) identifies three major periods in life: preparation, the period when children and youths are being prepared to assume adult roles; establishment, the period of productivity and placement within the social system; and culmination, the period of 'later life' ultimately leading to loss of independence and functional abilities.

The life course is seen as a process of development, occurring through a sequence of transitions. Leisure participation is based on the abilities, opportunities and resources that change throughout the life course. The model views life as a set of intersecting careers: work, family, education and leisure. Each career undergoes a series of transitions. Changes in one career are seen to effect the progress of the others. Anticipation and preparation for life transitions as well as continuity through life transitions are key features of the model. Life transitions generally result in leisure being changed in orientation and settings to complement the new roles that people take (Kelly & Godbey, 1992).

Birth	Death
Themes: PREPARATION.....ESTABLISHMENT.....CULMINATION	
Work: Skill learning.....Entry.....Career or series of jobs.....Withdrawal.....Retirement	
Family: Childhood..Launching..Marriage..Parenting..Launching...Postparent..Grandparent..Widow	
Education: Play....School.....College.....Return education.....Parallel learning.....Other	
Leisure: Play...Recreation.....Family.....Reconstituted.....Reevaluated.....Limited	

Source: Kelly and Godbey (1992)

Figure 2.2: The life course model: Intersecting careers

As well as the expected transitions, life also includes traumas - unanticipated changes in health, family or work that require significant reconstruction of life (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Such traumas serve to complicate the life course framework. Kelly (1999) notes that a life course is rarely smooth and predictable and that the predictive nature of the framework is challenged by variation in conditions of race, gender and class as well as specific circumstances of life context.

2.4 Chapter summary

Overseas and New Zealand-based studies into local people and protected natural areas show that people-park relationships are complex and occur on a range of levels. Key aspects of the relationship include intrinsic values, outdoor recreation, tourism, community-agency interactions, traditional land uses and local participation.

The distinction between intrinsic values, outdoor recreation motivations and benefits, and place attachment is not always clear, as will become obvious when they are applied in Chapter 5. The concepts are described by terms such as emotion, spirituality, belief, and physiological and psychological benefit; they derive from people's higher order needs rather than their requirements for subsistence. More consumptive aspects of the

relationship include tourism and traditional land uses, which meet locals' needs for subsistence.

Much previous research on local people and PNAs has used quantitative approaches, looking either at specific components of the relationship (e.g. economic outcomes, interactions with park management, tourism impacts) or gathering basic numerical data on a broad range of its components. Quantitative and econometric methods have also been used in the study of various aspects of human-environment relationships, such as environmental values, recreation motivations and sense of place. The few qualitative studies undertaken on local people have provided a broad description of the relationships from a local perspective, highlighting elements of the relationship which could not have been examined with quantitative research tools (e.g. Kaltenborn et al.'s (1999) presentation of Norwegian farmers' historical identification with a protected area). Qualitative methods have been similarly used to understand locals' environmental and recreational values and meanings, reactions to tourism and perceptions of local PNA management.

This thesis follows the qualitative path towards understanding local people-park relationships. Further explanation of this choice of research approach, as well as the choice of study site, is given in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This chapter describes how the study investigated local people-park relationships. The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first (3.1) outlines the background of the researcher, leading into the choice of qualitative approach, which is discussed in Section 3.2. The third section (3.3) introduces the case study approach and how it has been applied in this research. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 describe in more detail the techniques used in collecting and interpreting information - including interview methods, participant selection and data collection and management. Ethical considerations are explained in Section 3.6, before the chapter is summarised in the final section.

3.1 The researcher's background

Investigating the nature of people-park relationships can never be a precise and scientific process. Conventional thinking holds that the way we understand (or think we understand) the world around us can never be totally objective. Reality takes on a subjective quality - what is seen depends on who is looking. This is particularly so in social research, where the researcher's image of social reality can directly influence his or her approach to gathering knowledge (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander, 1990). It is therefore appropriate to begin with some personal reflection from the author. This is intended to illustrate the context from which the current research emerged.

Having come into social science from a physical science and positivist background, I am sensitive to the differences between the two perspectives. It is my opinion that many social phenomena are inherently complex and dynamic. As such, they can not be researched and understood with the same objectivity and certainty as physical parameters. Qualitative inquiry, with its tenets of socially constructed reality and value-laden inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), appeals to me because it nourishes and amplifies my view of the world. I therefore see the qualitative approach as justifiable in many social research contexts, including the current 'local people and conservation land' focus.

Subjectivity is an inevitability rather than a limitation of the qualitative approach, because if reality is accepted as socially constructed, objective inquiry becomes unattainable. Description of the inquiry is, therefore, important for academic reasons. The researcher's background and choice of approach and methods, as explained in this chapter, represent the only link between the study and objective reality.

3.2 The qualitative approach

The qualitative research approach represents a shift away from the dominant positivist paradigm, where reality is seen as immutable and inquiry as value-free, towards postpositivism and other ‘soft’ traditions that recognise a socially constructed reality and value-laden inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The interpretive tradition has a central position within the qualitative approach. To apprehend a socially constructed reality, the qualitative researcher attempts to “interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 2), aiming to understand the emic or idiographic point of view. To interpret human experience in its natural setting, qualitative research uses data collection methods that elicit the individual’s perspective, such as observation and interviewing.

Qualitative research is notable in its distinctions from positivist research. For example, the distinct stages of inquiry that characterise positivist research: method design, data collection and analysis are not followed in the qualitative tradition. Instead, a more organic process occurs, based on reflection on incoming information. Data collection and analysis are pursued concurrently, enhancing the quality of both aspects of research (Lofland & Lofland, 1984).

3.2.1 Qualitative inquiry of local people-park relationships

The nature of the relationships between local people and protected natural areas around them is not immutable. Instead, the relationships depicted by this study are largely formed by a succession of social appraisals (although objective effects of the environment on local people are not totally disregarded). The local people assign meaning to certain aspects of their existence and environment. Significantly, the researcher’s values and the theoretical window through which he/she views the relationships also influence the final picture.

A primary purpose of this study is to gain a sense of the sorts of effects, issues and perceptions that people have about the protected natural areas and conservation activity in their locality. However, it also aims for more meaningful understanding of people-park relationships by moving beyond description, towards explanation and understanding. It thus seeks insight into why and how certain local perceptions of conservation activity arise.

There is little doubt that interview data can build accurate and insightful descriptions of a social setting. However, to gain a greater understanding of a social setting, a process of inductive reasoning is useful. Inductive reasoning infers general rules or explanations from observations of specific aspects of social life (Glaser & Strauss, 1970). The present

study has used inductive reasoning to guide interviews and analysis, yielding both description and understanding of local perceptions of people-park relationships.

3.3 The case study approach

Having established a qualitative basis for this research, a case study approach was taken to examine relationships between people living in communities adjacent to protected natural areas and the conservation activity associated with those areas. This section elaborates on the case study approach and explains why it is suitable for the present study. It also outlines the criteria used in the site selection process. The chosen study site, Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, is then described in terms of those criteria.

The role of the case study approach within qualitative research is not clear. Some view the case study as a research strategy (Yin, 1994), which can be chosen over a range of other strategies. For others, the case study is purely a choice of object to be studied (Stake, 1994) and can be undertaken as part of any research strategy. No matter which view is taken, the importance of context to the case study approach remains:

“A case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p. 13).

The case study approach is therefore appropriate when it is more important to understand how the phenomenon operates in its own context, than how it might operate in other contexts. Put simply, the case study approach is best applied when generalisation is not a major research aim. As Stake (1994) points out, generalisation may be a worthy goal, but it should not divert the case researcher from an accurate understanding of how the phenomenon operates in its own context.

In the current study of relationships between local people and protected natural areas, it became apparent that there needed to be a focus on a specific area or areas. The need for in-depth inquiry over a one-year time frame necessitated that a single rather than a multiple case study be undertaken. It was also obvious that context needed to be a fundamental point of focus. One cannot hope to understand the relationships without considering the social and physical environment at the study site.

Chapter 4 shows how the lives of people in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin have been interwoven with the local environment and with local conservation activity. The study site and the people-conservation relationships developing there are unique and the case study approach is an appropriate mechanism through which to explore them. Certain

features of the study site are amenable to generalisation, although emphasis is placed on contextual rather than generalisable aspects of the relationship.

3.3.1 Site selection

Postpositivist forms of research call for the identification of sites in which the processes being studied are most likely to occur (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In line with this, site selection for the current study was not driven by a need to examine a ‘typical’ community close to a protected natural area. Rather, a site with potentially rich and interesting people-conservation relationships was sought.

Examination of communities close to national parks in New Zealand revealed a number of possible study sites, including Oban, Tuatapere, Makarora, Arthur’s Pass, Punakaiki, St Arnaud, and Karamea. Sites in the North Island were not considered for logistical and financial reasons. Criteria considered in the selection of an appropriate study site are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Study site selection criteria

Travel distance from Christchurch - Close proximity to Christchurch would allow more visits to the study site giving greater flexibility in data collection.
Size and geographic dispersal of the community - Samples from communities with smaller areas and with fewer residents can more easily be representative of the community.
Proximity of community to protected area - People-park relationships would be more difficult to observe and identify if the community was too distant from the protected area.
Current level of tourism development - Concerns about tourism impacts in popular tourist destinations may easily dominate other people-park relationships.
History of natural resource extraction - Existing debates and conflict about local resource-use may override other local perceptions of the park.

An area encompassing Arthur’s Pass village and the neighbouring Waimakariri Basin was chosen as the study site (see Map 1 , p. 46). The Basin is approximately 50 minutes drive from Christchurch, while the village is one hour 40 minutes away. The study site has a permanent resident population of approximately 150 people. About 100 of the permanent residents live in Arthur’s Pass village, while the remainder occupy dwellings adjacent to State Highway 73 and high country station access roads in the Waimakariri Basin. A further 100 people from outside the area have a significant connection with the study site, including land and bach owners and those with long-term business interests. The total population for this study is therefore around 250 people.

Protected natural areas cover more than half of the study site. Bounded on two sides by a national park (designated in 1929) and a conservation park (1967), the Waimakariri Basin

also contains a variety of smaller protected areas, most adjacent to State Highway 73. In addition, an area on the southern edge of the study site has recently been proposed as a conservation park (see Section 4.7.3 for description of this proposal).

The prevalence of conservation land coupled with recent improvements to State Highway 73 means that tourism is playing an increasingly prominent role in the study site. High country farms in the Basin are diversifying into tourism, a consequence of increasing visitor numbers to New Zealand and local landowners looking to diversify their income. The region is not considered to be a popular destination area, thus tourism impacts were considered unlikely to dominate other conservation-related issues.

The over-riding resource use issue within the study site is high country pastoral farming, often perceived to be at odds with the public conservation philosophy. Public debate in the last ten years has highlighted a tension between pastoral farming in the Waimakariri Basin and the Department of Conservation's efforts to improve representation of tussock grasslands in its protected area network. The presence of high country pastoralists in the study site therefore provides an additional perspective on conservation, a feature considered valuable in the examination of people-conservation relationships.

Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is a site of complex and interesting local people-park relationships. Diverse and extensive conservation lands, high country pastoralism, conservation-based tourism and the presence of a village and a highway within a national park are all local features that contribute to the site's appeal as a research setting.

3.4 Semi-structured and in-depth interviews

The primary data collection tool used in this study was interviewing. This section explains the key characteristics of the interviews, their unstructured nature and their capacity to probe for extra detail and understanding.

Interviewing methods lie along a continuum from structured to unstructured (Minichiello et al., 1990). Semi-structured interviewing, the method predominantly used in this study, lies midway along this continuum. The questions that make up this form of interview have no fixed order or wording, but focus instead on issues central to the research question (Minichiello et al., 1990). Such a method is particularly suited to the present study as it provides a flexible and exploratory means to describe the local people-park relationships.

Greater understanding of local people's perceptions requires the interview to go beyond description and probe important aspects of local life and personal experience. In-depth interviewing techniques meet these requirements by creating an understanding of

participants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations, as expressed in their own words (Minichiello et al., 1990). Probing techniques were periodically used during interviews to gain greater depth of understanding.

In summary, the combination of semi-structured and in-depth interview techniques offers flexibility along with the capacity to delve into important aspects of the participant's life. In the first instance they allow an exploratory approach to be taken, but they also allow more depth of inquiry into the local people-park relationships.

3.5 Data collection and analysis

Concurrent data collection and analysis is a feature of qualitative research. Accordingly, this study has evolved as a consequence of ongoing reflection and analysis of protected natural area, conservation and community literature, secondary data and interview material. Such analysis occurred in all phases of the study: participant selection, data collection and data management, as well as during the writing of the thesis. This section gives more detail about these phases of the study.

3.5.1 Participant selection

The qualitative approach does not demand that sampling be representative, rather it recognises that purposive sampling can add richness to the data. Participant selection in this study drew from both sampling strategies. Participants considered likely to offer rich and interesting data on people-park relationships were deliberately chosen. This policy was tempered however, by the desire to include views from sections of the community identified as significant.

Participant selection began by obtaining the name of a single resident known to have extensive knowledge of the area and community. After being interviewed, this person was then asked for names of other potentially useful participants. Applying this 'snowball method' to the first five interviews gave a list of more than 40 potential participants, from which 22 were eventually selected, giving a total of 27 interviews.

To give the study balance, it was felt that purposive sampling needed to be augmented with representation across different types of community members. Therefore after the first set of seven interviews and observations of the community, a simple typology of the study participants was constructed (see Table 3.2 below). The typology is based on the association people have with the study site. The majority of the study population are either permanent or temporary residents of the study area. The remainder live outside the area but retain their connection (e.g. some DOC staff and skifield managers).

Table 3.2: Participant typology - based on association with the study area

Tourism operators	Owners and/or operators of tourism-related businesses, including skifields. Some operate under DOC concessions.
DOC staff	Mostly permanent employees in the Waimakariri Area Office in Arthur's Pass and residing in the village.
Bach owners	Own and occasionally stay in baches at Arthur's Pass village, Bealey Spur or Castle Hill village.
Runholders	Own/lease and/or manage pastoral land in the Waimakariri Basin. Some runs are incorporated with tourism activity.
Other association	People not described above. Includes those who are retired to the area, self-employed, providing local services, or casually employed by tourism operators, DOC, farmers or road construction contractors.

The typology was used as a basis for community representation in selecting future participants. Participants with the different forms of study site association (as identified in the typology) were thought to offer distinctive and significant perspectives on conservation in the area. Selection of remaining participants was therefore influenced by the need to include people from each type.

A more detailed description of the participants chosen within each type of association is given in Table 3.3, showing gender and length of association with the study site. The length of association is the number of years since the participant began his or her permanent or regular connection with the study area.

Table 3.3: Participant characteristics - based on association with the study area

Form of association with study site:	Gender		Length of association with study site (years)				Total
	M	F	0-5	6-15	16-30	>30	
Tourism	5	2	1	2	3	1	7
Farming	5	1	1	3	1	1	6
DOC	3	1	2	2	0	0	4
Bach owner	3	2	0	0	0	5	5
Other	6	4	2	5	2	1	10
Total	22	10	6	12	6	8	32

Twenty-seven interviews were undertaken. However, on five occasions, the participant's spouse was present at the interview and made significant contributions. This makes a total of 32 people who contributed information during interviews. Table 3.3 shows that all identified forms of association with the site are represented in the sample. There is also a relatively even spread of participants across the length of association with the area.

Significantly, all bach owners interviewed have an association with the area exceeding thirty years. Overall, male participants outnumber female participants by nearly two to one, a difference more pronounced among participants with a farming association. The male/female ratio among participants is consistent with 1996 census data showing that 35 per cent of the area's inhabitants are female.

Characteristics of study participants residing in Arthur's Pass village, Waimakariri Basin and outside the study area are given in Table 3.4. Participants who resided "outside the study area" lived either in Christchurch or in rural towns between Christchurch and the study site.

Table 3.4: Participant characteristics - based on residence

Place of residence:	Gender		Length of association with study site (years)				Form of association with study site				
	M	F	0-5	5-15	15-30	>30	T	F	D	B	O
Arthur's Pass village (n=13)	8	5	3	7	2	1	2	0	2	0	9
Waimakariri Basin (n=9)	8	1	2	4	2	1	3	6	0	0	0
Outside study area (n=10)	6	4	1	1	2	6	2	0	2	5	1
Association with site:											
			T - Tourism operation		D - DOC employee		O - Other				
			F - Pastoral farming		B - Bach ownership						

Table 3.4 shows that most (9 of 13) Arthur's Pass village participants are classified as "other association" in the participant typology (see Table 3.1, p. 36). Participants residing in the Waimakariri Basin are either tourism operators or pastoral farmers. All participating Arthur's Pass village bach owners are permanent residents of Christchurch.

3.5.2 Data collection

Participants were initially contacted by phone, at which point details of the study and methods were explained to them. Participation was voluntary, however all those who were approached regarding interviews agreed to participate.

All but two of the interviews took place at the participant's permanent place of residence; in the case of bach owners, this was in Christchurch. Two interviews were held at participant's workplaces. Interview duration ranged from 45 minutes to two hours. All interviews were recorded on audio cassette. Any useful comments made by the participants during the preamble or post-interview situations were noted longhand.

For each interview a guideline sheet was drawn up to prompt the researcher on lines of inquiry that were intended for discussion. This also provided options for redirecting an interview in the event that discussion strayed inadvertently from the topic. Initially, the guidelines consisted of themes considered by the researcher to have potential relevance to people-park relationships. These early themes arose from preliminary reading of the literature and researcher intuition. However, as data collection and analysis progressed, the interview guidelines evolved, incorporating new avenues of inquiry based on material provided by early respondents. Guideline sheets were specific to the type of interviewee, such as farmers or tourism operators (interview guideline sheets are given in Appendix 1).

The semi-structured method allowed participants to talk freely, without the constraints of a limited set of questions or a pre-set interview focus. At times, the researcher attempted to gain depth in the interviews by using the recursive technique, described by Minichiello et al. (1990, p. 104) as “allowing the flow of conversation to direct the research process”. On occasions where participants made passing reference to something potentially useful to the study, the researcher used probing questions to gain more detail. The technique thus revealed aspects of people-park relationships that would have otherwise gone unrecognised by the researcher. It also allowed the participant to take some control in the interview.

Leaving the field

The point at which the researcher decided to leave the field was determined by three factors: the inevitable constraint of time, the breadth of data obtained and the identification of common threads within the data.

Time was the over-riding factor. As well as requiring time to arrange and carry out, each additional interview added to the total quantity of data, which in turn added to the time required for further data management and analysis. Thus, it was recognised that further interviews would begin to use up time which had been set aside for writing the thesis. This was the point where the value of further interviews was carefully considered.

Two features of the data suggested that the 27 interviews undertaken were sufficient to meet the study's aims. First, representation across all five types of participant had been achieved (see Table 3.2, p.39). This maximised the likelihood that all aspects of the community-conservation relationships important to each participant category had been included. Second, I perceived that participants were expressing ideas similar to those of other interviewees, which implied that the most significant aspects of the community-conservation interface had been captured. The combination of representation and common

themes in the data was considered sufficient to allow sound description and comprehension of the local people-park relationship.

Familiarity with the setting

Most data collection occurred through interviews, but the experience gained from the time the researcher spent in the study setting was also significant. An important part of this was visiting places mentioned in interviews, such as a participant's 'favourite spot in the park' or a site where a certain issue had transpired or where some distressing environmental damage had occurred. It was advantageous for the researcher to spend time in the setting, seeing what the locals see, albeit through a different set of eyes. This contributed to rich understanding of the context in which the people-park relationships occur.

3.5.3 Data management

Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim as soon as practicable, usually within two or three days of the interview. During and immediately after transcribing, additional notes were made throughout the transcript by the researcher, reflecting possible meanings of the data. The additional notes allowed the researcher to isolate themes and raise questions from the data, recognise connections to other primary or secondary data, and identify possible areas of discussion useful for future interviews. The additional notes became an important stage in the researcher's interpretation and analysis of the data.

Data analysis was undertaken using the NUD·IST¹ software programme as a framework. As well as providing an efficient data storage and retrieval system, the NUD·IST programme, through its requirement for data indexing, encouraged the researcher to think about and create categories for the data. While such classification contributed to the analysis, it did not represent the completion of analysis. Further thought and reflection on the data was required for this. Nevertheless, the NUD·IST software proved invaluable because it necessitated familiarity with the data.

¹ NUD·IST stands for Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing. The software supports processes of indexing, searching and theorising from qualitative data (Qualitative Solutions and Research, 1996)

3.6 Ethical considerations

Rights of privacy and confidentiality were key ethical considerations in this study. Two factors contributed to this. First, there is a small total population (approximately 250) and second, some tensions were known to exist between community members. It was therefore important during interviews not to divulge the views and opinions of other individual participants, as this could lead to possible grievances.

In the interests of privacy and confidentiality, interview transcripts were accessible only to the researcher and his two supervisors. The transcripts, along with the audio-taped interviews, were kept in a locked room. Electronic versions were stored on hard disk accessible only by the researcher.

Problems with anonymity arose at the writing stage of this thesis, mainly due to the small population from which the participants were drawn. There was a real possibility that readers who had some knowledge of the Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin community would be able to identify the source of a quote based on the generic description given. Pseudonyms are used to minimise the chances of participant identification. Also, sections of quotes likely to identify the speaker have been altered or omitted. The omission of material within a quote is represented in the standard way by an ellipsis (...); material is omitted either for reasons of continuity or in the interests of retaining participant anonymity. A double dash (--) is used to indicate a pause in speech.

Informed and voluntary consent was an important ethical consideration in the research. To this end, the research focus and methods were explained to the participants before asking permission to interview them. This included a reassurance that their names would not be mentioned in any way in the final thesis text. It was also explained that they could withdraw, at any time, any information they had given. Written consent was obtained from all participants (Appendix 2 shows the consent form used).

3.7 Methods summary

This chapter has described the research process for the present study of local people-park relationships. It has covered the research approaches and methods, aspects of data collection and analysis and highlighted ethical considerations.

The researcher considers people-conservation relationships to be socially constructed, which necessitates that they be examined from the qualitative perspective. Site selection focused on (i) areas with interesting and complex relationships between participants and their environment, and (ii) ease of data collection. The Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri

Basin area was chosen as the study site. In line with the qualitative approach, semi-structured and in-depth interviews have been used to gather data, with an intention to first describe and then explain how participants perceive neighbouring protected natural areas as an influence in their lives.

To examine local people-park relationships a case study was undertaken with a focus on Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Knowledge of the context of that community is crucial to understanding the local people-park relationships that exist there. The next chapter describes the social and physical setting in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Once this context is set, subsequent chapters draw on interview data to give a picture of the types of relationships and interactions participants have with the conservation lands and activity in their locality.

Chapter 4 - Study setting

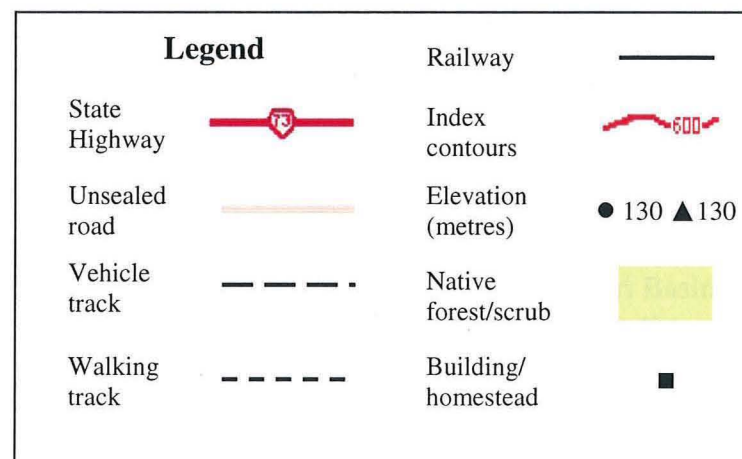
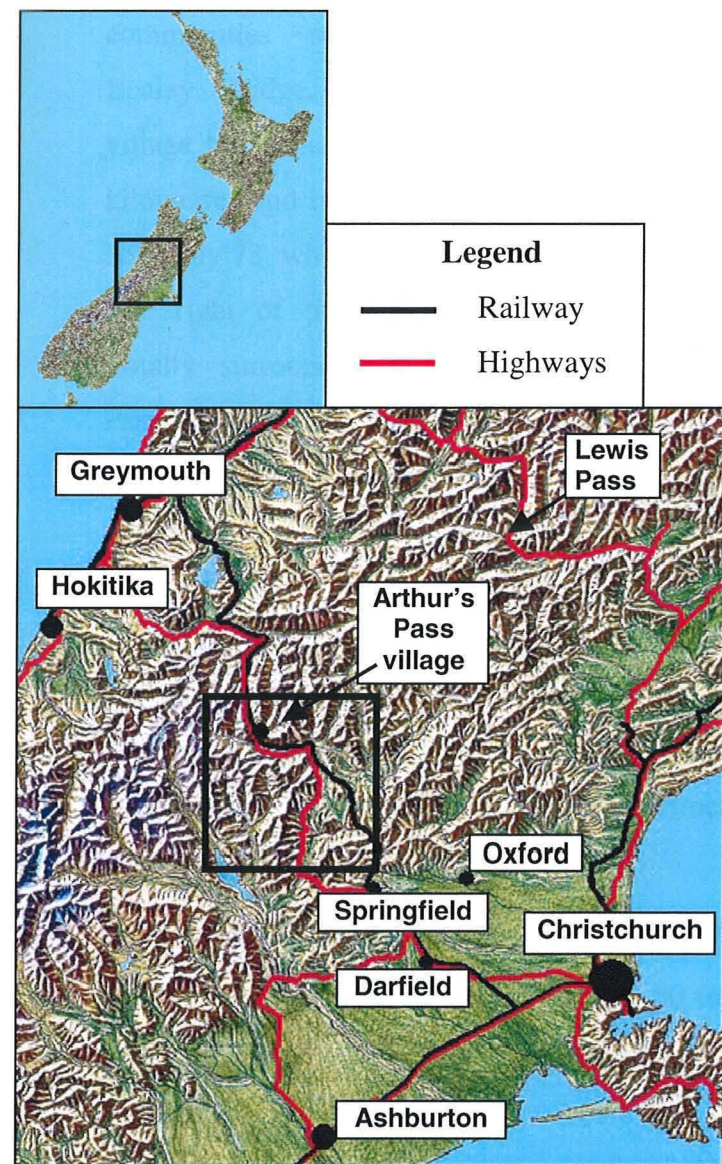
4.1 Introduction

Knowledge of the local context is essential for understanding people-park relationships in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. This chapter provides information on social, cultural, historical and bio-physical dimensions of the study setting. It begins by locating the study setting (Section 4.2) and describing its natural environment (Section 4.3). A Maori presence predating Europeans is described in Section 4.4. The subsequent three sections (4.5 through 4.7) outline significant historical links between Europeans and the natural resources in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. These links are high country pastoralism, the road and rail arteries, and land protection and conservation. A chapter summary is provided in Section 4.8.

4.2 Location

The setting for this research is Arthur's Pass village, the Waimakariri Basin and the surrounding conservation lands. Study participants were chosen from people who either lived in this setting or had a strong connection with it through bach ownership or business/employment interests. The location of the setting is now described. Map 1 on p. 46 will help the reader follow the description.

Arthur's Pass village is located in the Bealey Valley approximately three kilometres south of the alpine pass through the Southern Alps. The Waimakariri Basin lies south east of Arthur's Pass village and is surrounded by five key pieces of land: Arthur's Pass National Park, the Craigieburn, Torlesse and Puketeraki Ranges and Mt White Station. Arthur's Pass National Park is a mountainous area of over 100,000 hectares, which encloses Arthur's Pass village and provides a northern boundary to the Waimakariri Basin. The Craigieburn and Torlesse Ranges are clearly visible boundaries to the west and south of the Basin. The Puketeraki Range and adjacent Mt White station complete the circle around the Waimakariri Basin by joining up to the western edge of the National Park.



Map 1: Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin

There are two distinct communities within the study setting: the village community at Arthur's Pass and the farming/tourism community in the Waimakariri Basin. These communities separate at the Bealey Bridge. Arthur's Pass village has an area of 0.6 square kilometres and is located on State Highway 73, which runs along the true right of the Bealey River. Totally surrounded by Arthur's Pass National Park, the village has 102 permanent residents and 58 part-time residents in the form of bach owners (Arthur's Pass Webspace, 2000). At 739 metres



Plate 1: Arthur's Pass village, nestled in the steep and narrow Bealey Valley and surrounded on all sides by Arthur's Pass National Park.

above sea level, the village is 180 metres lower than Arthur's Pass itself, which lies 10 kilometres to the north. The majority of villagers are employed within the local tourism and service industry, although the Department of Conservation is the single largest employer in the village.

In comparison to Arthur's Pass village, the Waimakariri Basin community is geographically dispersed. Approximately 50 full-time residents occupy farm homesteads,

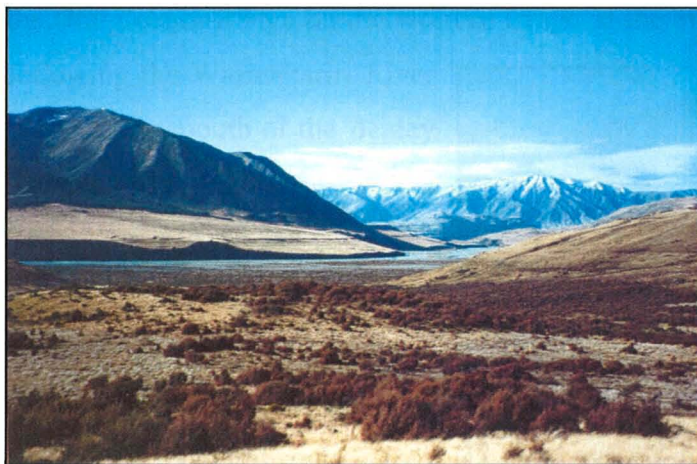


Plate 2: Open spaces of the Waimakariri Basin - looking across the Waimakariri Basin to the Puketeraki Range.

tourism operations and the three small settlements in the Basin - Castle Hill village, Cass and Bealey. Many more part-time residents visit baches in settlements in the Basin and, during the ski season, people occupy skifield lodges and baches on the four skifields on the Craigieburn Range.

Castle Hill village is the result of a housing sub-division in the late 1970s. It was originally designed as a recreation resort for a maximum population of 1400, however the planned developments never eventuated. By 1997, 50 houses had been built there (Babiera, 1997). At the time of writing, several new houses were under construction. Further north, the University of Canterbury operates a

biological/geological research station at Cass. Adjacent to the research station is the tiny Cass settlement and railway station. A more substantial settlement exists at Bealey, with



Plate 3: Situated on the very edge of Arthur’s Pass National Park, the Bealey Hotel serves both local residents and passing motorists.

25 baches occupying the lower reaches of Bealey Spur. Five kilometres north along State Highway 73 is the Bealey Hotel, providing travellers and locals with a restaurant, bar and tourist accommodation. Apart from the Bealey Hotel and Flock Hill Lodge which has a restaurant and bar,

there are no locally used services and amenities present in the Basin. At the time of writing, Grasmere Station owners were planning to build high country holiday homes for intended sale to foreign buyers (Robson, 23 September 2000). Springfield and Darfield are the nearest recognised rural supply centres, lying 15 and 38 kilometres south-east of Porters Pass respectively (see Map 1, p. 46).

Road and rail arteries are key features of the area. State Highway 73 runs along the base of the Craigieburn Range on the western fringe of the Waimakariri Basin before meeting and following the Waimakariri River as far as the mouth of the Bealey River. It then crosses the Waimakariri River and continues up the Bealey Valley to bisect the Southern Alps at Arthur’s Pass. The Midland Railway takes a more central route across the Basin, running closer to the River. It too crosses the divide via the Bealey Valley, travelling under Arthur’s Pass through the

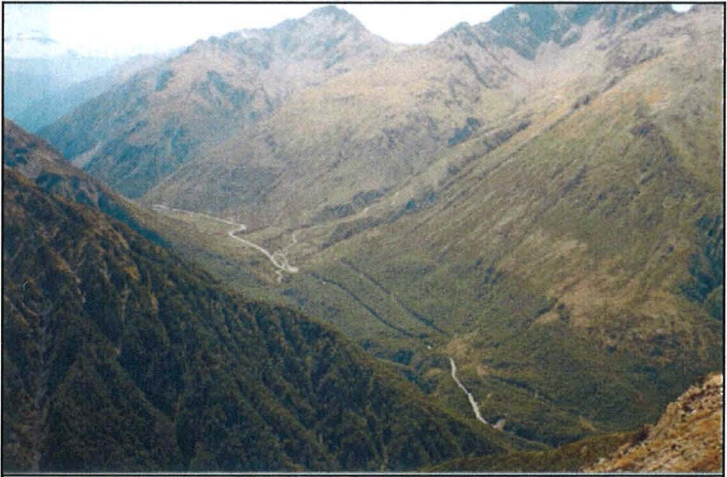


Plate 4: State Highway 73 and the east-west electricity connection cut parallel lines through beech forest below Arthur’s Pass. Temple Basin Ski Area lies in the basin to the right of the saddle.

Otira Rail Tunnel. The Arthur’s Pass route is the main social and commercial connection between Canterbury and the West Coast, providing the shortest distance between the two

regional centres, Christchurch and Greymouth. State Highway 73 in particular is a busy transport link, with an average traffic flow of approximately 1100 vehicles per day in 1999¹. The traffic flow is comparable with that on the Lewis Pass route, which lies further to the north and gives access to northern West Coast regions and Nelson.

The Selwyn District Council administers both Arthur's Pass village and the Waimakariri Basin. In the last decade, the status of most of the village sections has changed from leasehold to freehold. The Council recently installed an ultra-violet water filter to the Arthur's Pass village water supply, a development contributed to by all section owners in the village.

4.3 Natural environment

This section describes the topography, climate and flora and fauna in the study area.

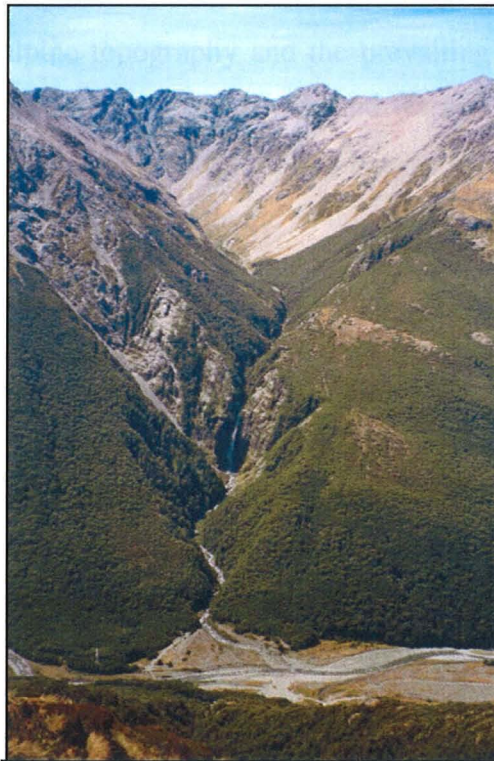


Plate 5: Typical steep and rugged glacial landscape - Devils Punchbowl Falls near Arthur's Pass village

4.3.1 Geology and landscape

The mountain and high country topography of the Southern Alps and high country areas to the east are the result of shifting continental plates, which come together along an alpine fault that runs immediately west of Arthur's Pass National Park (Dennis, 1986). Smaller fault lines occur throughout the Waimakariri Basin.

The landscape in the area today represents the current balance between mountain uplifting and the opposing processes of erosion by glaciers, temperature fluctuations, earthquakes, avalanches, storms and floods. The last ice-age left an indelible print on the study area. Although the glaciers have withdrawn up to the valleys and névés in Arthur's Pass National Park, U-shaped valleys, hanging valleys, horn-shaped peaks and

narrow rocky ridges testify to the glacial origins of Arthur's Pass National Park (Dennis,

¹ Data from Transit New Zealand road counter at Arthur's Pass

1986). The Waimakariri Basin is also characterised by glacial landforms, such as glacially scoured hills, terraced outwash surfaces and widespread terminal moraine deposits (Shanks, et al., 1990).

The dominant rock types in the study area are sandstone and siltstone, which easily erode to form the moraines, glacial deposits and river gravels characteristic of the area. The Waimakariri River carries large quantities of eroded rock away from the mountains. Current land-shaping events include earthquakes, rain and wind, which severely test the stability of the mountain landscape.

4.3.2 Climate

A feature of the study area is the contrast in climate between Arthur's Pass village and the high country land to the south east. Arthur's Pass National Park has a cool, wet, mountain climate, while the Waimakariri Basin is warmer and drier. This difference results from the alpine topography and the prevailing westerly weather flow, which brings heavy rain to areas close to the divide and warm dry winds to the high country areas in the lee of the mountains. Thus Arthur's Pass village receives 4500 millimetres of rainfall per year, while 10 kilometres to the south east, Bealey Spur receives only around 1500 millimetres. Further south east at Castle Hill, rainfall declines to around 900 millimetres (Shanks et al., 1990). Residents at Arthur's Pass village can expect one millimetre or more to fall on at least 160 days of the year (Dennis, 1986). Mean January temperatures at Arthur's Pass village and Cass are 11.8 and 14.6 °C respectively, while July mean temperatures are 1.7 and 1.6 °C respectively (Shanks et al., 1990).

Most snowfall tends to occur between June and September, although cold weather at any time of the year can bring snow. However, snowfall from year to year is erratic. When it falls in sufficient quantities, snow lies on the ground for at least three months above 1450 metres (Dennis, 1986), but remains only for short periods on valley floors and in the Waimakariri Basin (Shanks et al., 1990).

4.3.3 Flora and fauna

There are significant differences in the flora in Arthur's Pass National Park and the Waimakariri Basin. This is due to differences in their topography, climate and level of human intervention.

Flora

As a result of the burning of beech forest and tussock by Polynesian and early European settlers, tussock grasslands dominate the lower altitude areas of the Waimakariri Basin, with minor communities of scrub and some wetland vegetation (Shanks, et al., 1990). Beech forest exists only in a few remnant stands in the Basin but dominates in Arthur's Pass National Park at up to 1300



Plate 6: Tussock and scrub on the edges of Lake Sarah.

metres in altitude. Above the beech forest line there are often subalpine shrubs and, in the alpine zone, snow tussocks and other alpine shrubs (Dennis, 1986).

Fauna

Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin supports a wide variety of bird species, a number of them introduced. Efforts are currently underway to protect several endangered bird species, including the great spotted kiwi. Deer, chamois and opossum were all introduced to the study area's environment for human use, although they have proven to be highly destructive to vegetation (Shanks et al., 1990). Species of game fish have also been introduced.

4.4 The Maori presence

Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin were familiar to Maori in pre-European times. Artefacts found in the area include a woven backpack (estimated at 500 years old), flax sandals and cave drawings at Castle Hill, remains of Maori ovens at the Bealey River mouth and an adze in the Otira Gorge (Logan, 1987). The earliest Maori reference to the Arthur's Pass/Waimakariri Basin area comes from the Waitaha tribe, hunter-gatherers who claim to have settled in New Zealand more than 2000 years ago (Walrond, 1999). Descriptions of more recent Maori activity in the area, up to 300 years ago, refer to the Ngai Tahu tribe, the current iwi tribe of the area.

4.4.1 Spiritual and historical links to the land

The Maori world view is based on different philosophical premises than those held by western European people. Creation of the physical environment plays a fundamental role in how Maori interrelate with their natural surroundings. Maori see themselves as an intrinsic element of the environment (James, 1993a).

Symbolism associated with the waka, or canoe is central to the link Maori have with the land. Maori symbolise the South Island as the 'Waka of the Gods' travelling southwards, with the mountains of the Southern Alps representing the crew in various postures after being turned to stone. The mountains are 'the ancient ones set in stone', the tūpuna, wearing white cloaks of mana. Waitaha writings say that the pains and joys we all share in life are visible in the mountain's features. As well as representing the entire island, waka are also symbolised as alpine valleys. Each great alpine valley is a waka, its hull stretching from the stern, hard against the mountain, to the prow, resting at the river mouth. The 'waka within waka' symbolism is central to the meanings and memories of the sacred trails (Brailsford, 1994).

The lower passes of the Southern Alps, such as Harper, Browning and Arthur's, were used by Maori in their quest for pounamu (greenstone) in rivers west of the divide (Odell, 1935; Logan, 1987). Access to the passes was via the many Maori trails that criss-cross the South Island.

The Waitaha name for Arthur's Pass is 'Te Huarahi o Tira', the 'Trail of Tira'. Tira was a mythological figure whose calling was to set the people free to climb the high passes. The link to this great Maori mountain traveller remains today, with the community of Otira on the northern side of the Pass taking its name from the largest local mountain, Maunga Tira (Mt Rolleston) (Brailsford, 1994).

Waitaha lore describes how the Ngati Kurawaka tribe lived in the 'Valley of Rainbows' (the Waimakariri Basin), based at two settlements on the shores of a lake which once existed just south of present-day Bealey. The valley provided Ngati Kurawaka with plentiful food, such as tuna (eel) and pigeon. The mountain overlooking the lake, today called The Dome, was named 'Maru Kai Roto', meaning 'the food source beside the lake' (Brailsford, 1994).

In terms of the study area, the most significant Maori cultural values exist at Castle Hill, a site central to local Maori lore. Castle Hill lies in a tussock basin bounded by the Torlesse Range to the east and the Craigieburn Range to the west. It contains a collection of

limestone outcrops referred to as Te Kohanga ('birthplace of the gods') by the Waitaha and Kura Tawhiti ('treasure from a distant land') by the Ngai Tahu. It is a place of sacred learning for Maori. The alignment between certain galaxies and rock outcrops is thought to have been a basis for the Maori calendar (Walrond, 1999). The outcrops themselves represent a link to the beginnings of time and life and the gods revered by Maori (Brailsford, 1994).

4.4.2 Current Maori involvement

Today the Waitaha tribe has been absorbed and assimilated into the Ngai Tahu iwi. However, Ngai Tahu place similar significance on the lands of Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. The profile of Maori values in the study area has risen with the inclusion of Maori values in natural resource legislation (*Conservation Act 1987, Resource Management Act 1991, Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998*). There is now a statutory requirement for iwi to be consulted over any land use issues in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Examples of this in the study area include Lake Pearson (regarding customary fishing rights), Otira Viaduct construction (to avoid disruption of significant trail marker stones in the Otira Gorge) and Castle Hill Conservation Area (where Tōpuni status has been applied to ensure Maori values associated with the rock formations are recognised, acknowledged and respected).

4.5 Pastoralism - foundation for the Waimakariri Basin community

Pastoral farming in the South Island high country is an important part of the history and identity for many who live there. This section outlines the history and current condition of pastoral farming in the Waimakariri Basin.

4.5.1 History of pastoralism in the Waimakariri Basin

Less than a decade after the arrival of the first four British ships in Lyttleton in 1850, the Canterbury plains and foot-hills were taken up with pastoral and crop farms. The possibility of discovering new productive pastoral land lured the first Europeans to the Waimakariri Basin in 1857. The tussocked flats and gentle hills were recognised as highly suitable for pastoralism and much of the scrub and tussock was burnt to prepare the land for sheep grazing. Later that year, the high country land around the Waimakariri River and

its tributaries was divided into ten runs² by the then Commissioner of Waste Lands (Logan, 1987).

Sheep numbers reached their peak near the turn of the century, however livestock loads declined erratically over the next 50 years as periods of economic depression were interspersed with war-time wool price increases (Logan, 1987; O'Connor, 1996). This period also saw deterioration in the quality and productivity of the land, resulting from overstocking, burning and rabbit infestations (Rose, 1996).

In the 1960s, the North Canterbury Catchment Board established that the grazing of tussock lands above 1000 metres was damaging the environment and thus began a policy of retiring high ground from pastoral use. Run plans were negotiated between the local Catchment Board and runholders in the Waimakariri Basin, resulting in the retirement from grazing of some 25,000 hectares of land in the following 25 years (Logan, 1987). Retirement placed more pressure on the low altitude land to provide stock feed (Haywood & Boffa, 1972) and necessitated steps to increase grassland quality and stock capacity, such as reduced burning, better pest control, increased fencing and the use of fertilisers (Rose, 1996).

Nevertheless, the situation for farmers in New Zealand was healthy in these times. There was secure access to the British market and the government of the time provided fertiliser subsidies, tax incentives and price supports (Morris, Fairweather & Swaffield, 1997). Government subsidies continued to bolster high country farmers until 1984, when the newly elected Labour Government implemented policies of economic deregulation - increasing farm interest rates to market levels and removing many of the artificial supports (Fairweather, 1989).

For the farmers, these changes meant reduced incomes, decreased equity and increased interest rates. Landholders subsequently struggled to maintain inputs such as fertiliser and pest control, meaning reduction in stocking rates, stocking numbers, production and overall viability (Fairweather, 1989). In the Waimakariri Basin this resulted in runs being merged to gain advantages from economies of scale. Some runs began looking to tourism as a way to maintain ailing farm viability.

² The term 'run', along with 'station', is used to describe large high country pastoral farms.

4.5.2 Pastoralism and the Waimakariri Basin community today

There are six high country runs still operating in the Waimakariri Basin. Table 4.1 below gives basic information about the pastoral runs in the Waimakariri Basin; their relative sizes and locations can be seen on Map 2 (p. 56). The last decade has seen tourism play an increasing role in the viability of high country pastoral properties. The four stations situated next to State Highway 73 all offer some form of tourist accommodation; some also arrange tourist activities such as bush walks, hunting and high-country tours.

Table 4.1: Waimakariri Basin pastoral runs³

Station name	Size (ha)	Tenure ^{1,2}	Associated tourism operation
Cora Lynn	2000	CPL	Wilderness Lodge
Grasmere	600	Freehold	Grasmere Lodge
Flock Hill	8000	UCEL	Flock Hill Lodge; High Country Safaris
Castle Hill	11000	CPL	Backpacker accommodation
Craigieburn	17000	UCEL	Guided deer hunting
Mt White	51000	CPL	-----

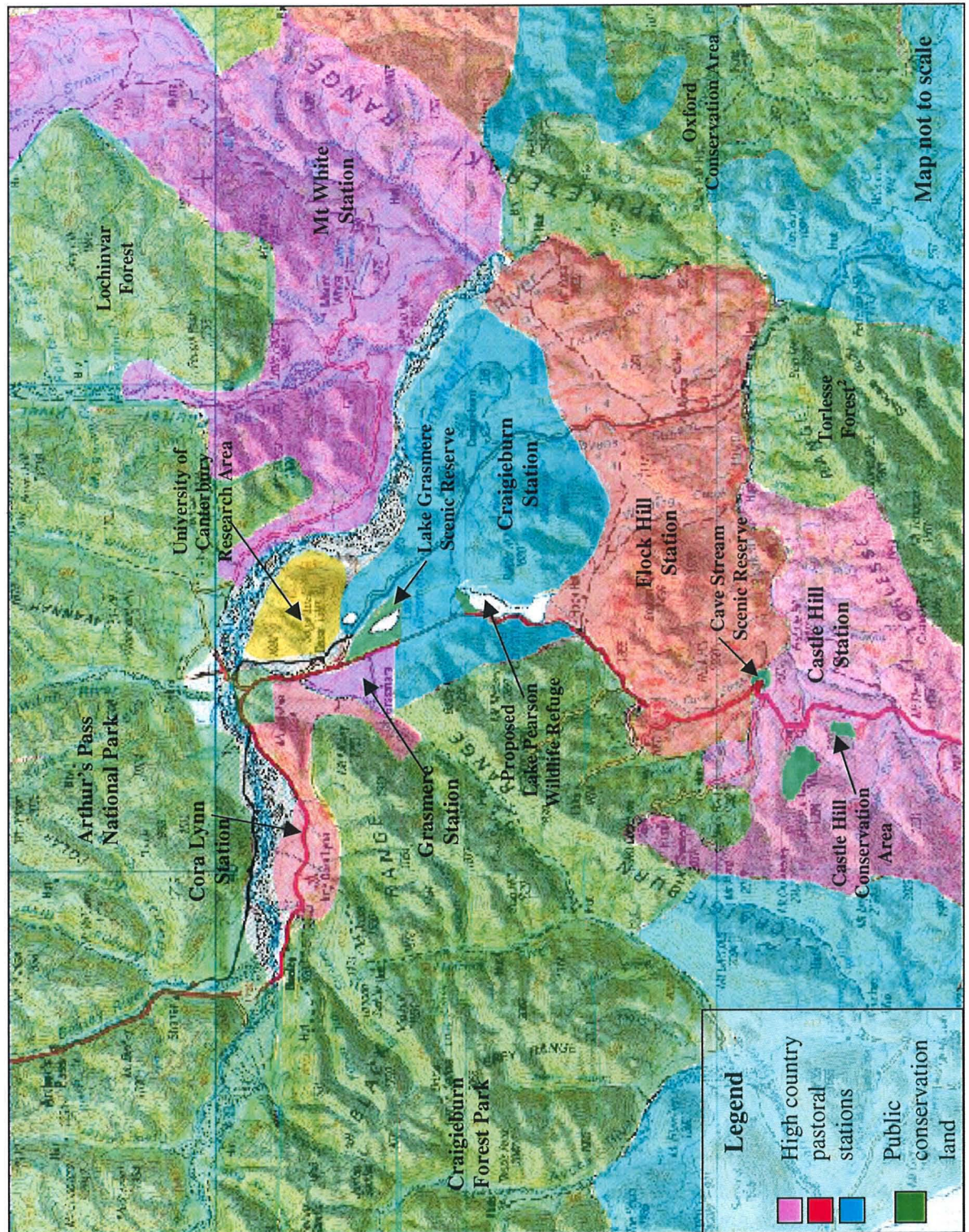
Note¹: CPL = Crown Pastoral Lease

²: UCCEL = University of Canterbury Endowment Lease

The land tenure of the runs is divided between Crown Pastoral Lease, University of Canterbury Endowment Lease and freehold (Table 4.1). Small areas of freehold land surround homesteads on leased runs, which are farmed more intensively than the leased land. Crown Pastoral Lease land is owned by the government and is leased out under terms specified in the *Land Act 1948* and the *Crown Pastoral Land Act 1998* (CPLA).

Lessees are entitled to graze the land but require discretionary consent for activities such as burning or clearing vegetation, disturbing the soil, fertilising, seed planting or commercial recreation activities. The Crown Commissioner of Lands only gives such consents after consultation with the DOC Director General. The passing of the *Crown Pastoral Land Act 1998* has seen the criteria for granting consents shift from “sound farming practice” to “inherent values of the land”. There is a concern that this shift may compromise the equity and production of high country pastoral operations (McLean, 1998).

³ Data for Table 4.1 was obtained directly from station managers. Figures may not correspond directly with official pastoral lease sizes because land is sub-leased between adjacent properties.



Map 2: High country stations and public conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin¹

Note 1: This map was generated from information provided by the University of Canterbury, the Department of Conservation Canterbury Conservancy Office and the Canterbury Conservation Management Strategy (DOC, 1995b). It is an approximation of land tenure boundaries in the Waimakariri Basin, intended to show readers of this thesis the general layout of various public conservation lands and pastoral areas. It should not be used as a definitive representation of legal tenure boundaries in the area.

Note 2: The Torlesse Forest shown here includes the Avoca pastoral lease recently acquired by DOC.

The *Crown Pastoral Land Act 1998* also sets a framework for the high country tenure review process, whereby lessees can obtain the freehold title to productive land while



Plate 7: Grazing land often lies directly adjacent to Arthur's Pass National Park.

allowing the remaining areas to be put to more appropriate use, such as conservation or public recreation. The Act also functions to facilitate the securing of public access to and enjoyment of reviewable land, subject to achievement of the protection objectives.

Crown pastoral leases cover approximately 2.45 million

hectares of the South Island high country. The tenure review may result in up to one million hectares of this land becoming protected under the management of DOC. At the time of writing, none of the Crown pastoral lease properties in the study area were undergoing tenure review. Nevertheless, tenure review is an issue that all high country farmers are aware of, particularly in view of the potential for large areas of grazing land being passed over to DOC.

Two stations in the Waimakariri Basin are leased from the University of Canterbury, which was granted the lands in the 19th century. These leases do not have the same formal



Plate 8: Improved pasture surrounding a station homestead. The Torlesse Range, site of a proposed Conservation Park, lies to the right

restrictions as Crown pastoral leases, although land use practices are inspected by the University, which also consults with DOC over conservation values on the land.

Pastoral high country farming in the Waimakariri Basin has, over the last 30 years, come under increasing focus regarding its environmental effects and sustainability. In 1994, a report commissioned jointly by the Ministers of Conservation, Agriculture and the

Environment (The Working Party on Sustainable Land Management, 1994) expressed deep concern over the impacts of grazing on soils and vegetation in the high country. It also cast doubt over the sustainability of such land use, noting that

“... pastoral enterprises in the high country are inflexible systems which have difficulty coping with variations in climate, pest outbreaks and product prices. Their financial performance is currently poor and this is constraining their ability to maintain the inputs which are necessary to sustain the resources on which they depend” (p. 49)

Today, pastoral high country farming in the Waimakariri Basin appears to be at a crossroads. To remain viable, leaseholders and managers are looking to diversify into deer, forestry and tourism. However, under increasing pressure to become sustainable as well as consistent with the conservation activity in the area, pastoral farming in the Basin faces an uncertain future.

4.6 Trans-alpine links - the genesis of Arthur's Pass village

Road and rail have played a significant role in the development of Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Construction and maintenance of the transport corridor has attracted and continues to attract workers to the area, while service provision for an increasing volume of travellers and tourists is becoming the main industry in the area. This section explains the background to each of the transport arteries before describing their current situation.

4.6.1 The Arthur's Pass road

Arthur Dobson was the first Pakeha to set eyes upon the Arthur's Pass when, in 1864, he and his younger brother followed the Bealey River up from Cora Lynn Station. After crossing the Pass and viewing the ruggedness of the Otira Gorge, the pair turned back. However, just a year later road-builders from Christchurch were back in the Bealey Valley, under instructions to find a negotiable route to the West Coast, which would allow Canterbury to prosper from the gold diggings at Hokitika (Dennis, 1986).

Road construction began in 1865, between Hokitika in the west and Porter's Pass in the east. However, doubt remained over which route to take from the Waimakariri River to the West Coast. Although Arthur's Pass was considered by some to be too difficult, it was finally chosen since alternative passes were considered too high, steep or unstable. The 160 kilometres of road from Porter's Pass to Hokitika was completed in less than a year, thanks to the efforts of a thousand men who had toiled through a cold wet winter with poor shelter and meagre food (Odell, 1935).

Upon completion of the road in 1866, horse-drawn coach services began, with the journey from Christchurch to Hokitika taking three days. Roadmen were employed to keep the road in good order for the coaches. Each lived in a hut on site and had around five kilometres of road to maintain. Frequent floods and slips continually damaged the road and washed out the fords, keeping these men busy. These roadmen, along with early explorers, road construction gangs, Otira tunnel diggers and high country pastoralists, set a precedent for a lonely, tough and arduous existence in the Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin area.

The section of State Highway 73 from Springfield to Arthur's Pass remained unsealed until 1960. In the last 20 years it has seen a succession of improvements at problem points. A major development was the completion of the Otira viaduct in 1998. Rising use of State Highway 73 (see Figure 6.1, p. 109) means that road improvement is an ongoing task.

4.6.2 The Midland Railway

In contrast with the road across Arthur's Pass, which was completed within a year, the railway took more than 50 years to complete.

After a contract was signed with the Midland Railway Company in 1886, it took 28 years of construction before the railhead finally reached Arthur's Pass. Construction of the rail tunnel between Arthur's Pass and Otira was fraught with financial problems, crumbling rock, flooding and the loss of labour during World War I and it was not until 1918 that the two digging parties met (Logan, 1987). Five years later, in 1923, the first train passed through the tunnel. The tunnel line was electric, powered by a coal fired steam generation plant at Otira (Churchman, 1995). Completion of the Midland Railway spelt the end for the horse-drawn coaches, which had been the only commercial transportation across Arthur's Pass since the road's completion (Dennis, 1986).

The main uses of the Midland Rail Line in more recent times have been passenger transport and the transportation of West Coast coal to Lyttelton for shipping. The Tranz-Alpine Express was brought into service in the 1980s as a response to decreasing passenger numbers (Churchman, 1995). This train currently makes a daily return trip from Christchurch to Greymouth, catering mainly to the tourist market. Specially designed carriages allow travellers to view the scenery from the train. The service is reported to be "booming" (SI services may go, 2000). The Line relies on the coal trains for funding; two tourist trains per day cannot support it. Therefore the recent signing of a "long-term

contract” for the continued transport of coal on the Midland Line (Robson, 3 February 2000) secures the immediate future of the Tranz-Alpine express.

4.6.3 Arthur’s Pass village - past and present

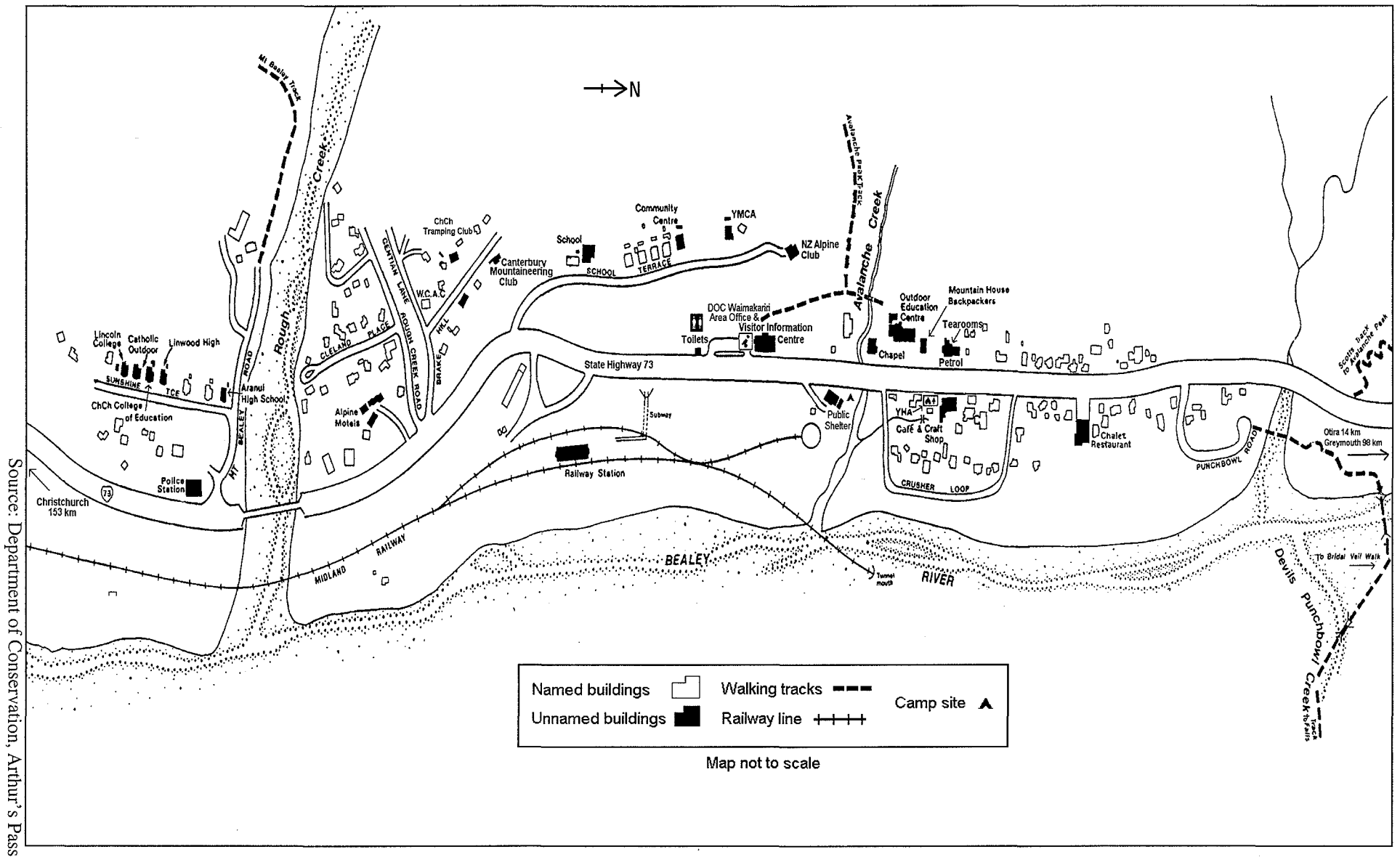
The Arthur’s Pass village is sited on what was known as Camping Flat, the spot where early explorers made camp before setting out on excursions to and over the pass (Logan, 1987). Camping Flat, later known as Bealey Flat, was used for organised recreational camping trips in the 1880s (Odell, 1935) and later as the site for the Otira Tunnel construction camp. When the tunnel was completed in 1923, the popularity of the area increased and there was soon demand for the old huts as holiday cottages, often referred to as ‘baches’. This renewal of life for the old tunnellers’ dwellings provided the nucleus of the present Arthur’s Pass village (Dennis, 1986).

Most of the people buying the old tunnellers’ cottages were from Christchurch, typically professionals such as lawyers and teachers. These families went up to Arthur’s Pass in droves during holiday periods and showed great enthusiasm for the area. The village continued to develop as a desirable holiday centre, which helped generate a strong sense of community within the permanent and part-time residents. The community organised the tidying up of the unsightly relics from the railway construction and began to raise concerns about the negative effects that day-visitors coming in by train were having on the local environment (Logan, 1987).

Notwithstanding its small size, the village today has many of the amenities enjoyed by larger centres (Map 3 on p. 61 shows the layout of the village). Most are run by community initiatives, for example the local volunteer fire brigade, post office, chapel and community centre. Television and radio signals are broadcast up the valley from community owned and maintained repeater stations. The telephone line into the village has a limit of ten simultaneous calls. Despite this, Arthur’s Pass village has the highest per capita internet connection rate in New Zealand (26%).

The railway yards and train station are a major feature of the village. These are unmanned as the track switches are automated, although the Tranz Alpine Express stops twice a day at the station. An Outdoor Education Centre in the village, run by the Arthur’s Pass Outdoor Education Centre Trust, is regularly visited by primary school groups from Canterbury. Other services provided in the community include a police station, school and an Automobile Association breakdown and towing service. These services also support the Waimakariri Basin. The police officer’s role includes a frequent commitment to search

Map 3: Arthur's Pass village



Source: Department of Conservation, Arthur's Pass

and rescue of both recreationists and motorists. At the time of writing, the Arthur's Pass School has a roll of just four pupils and, according to locals, its future is uncertain. The closing of the school would leave correspondence and boarding in Canterbury as the only feasible education options for children in the study area.

Businesses in the village primarily service the needs of motorists and tourists. As well as five

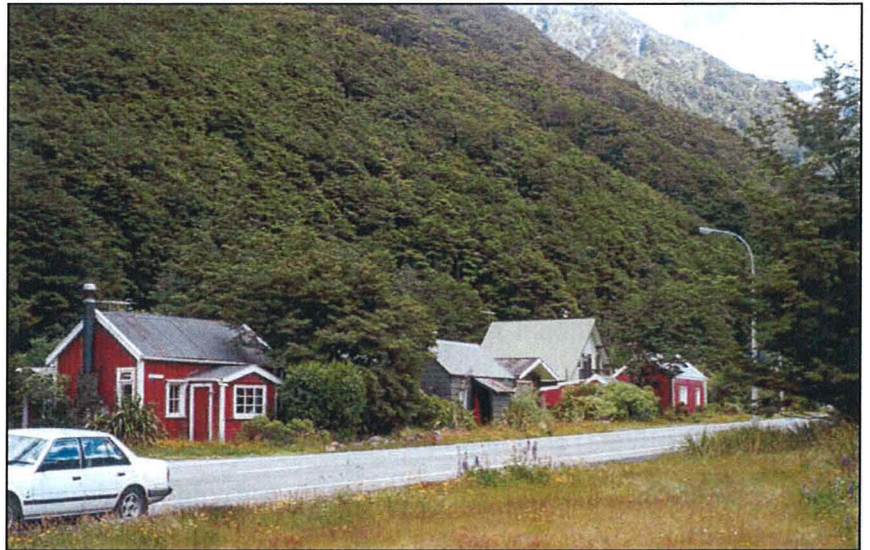


Plate 9: Typical dwellings in Arthur's Pass village. To the left is a bach, where rail tunnel construction workers used to live in the 1920s. Today they are used as holiday homes. Further to the right is a more recently built home.

businesses offering accommodation, there are numerous lodges owned and used by schools and recreation organisations from outside the area. Some private baches are rented out to long-term visitors. Three businesses sell food to the public, including one that also sells petrol. The accommodation and retail businesses employ local people but often require employees from outside the area during busy periods.

Tourism businesses in the village are expanding. At the time of writing, the tea rooms was undergoing a major expansion and the backpacker hostel was increasing its capacity. These changes reflect business confidence in the continued increase in numbers of visitors to the village. Visitors to the DOC Visitor Centre in Arthur's Pass village have increased from 89,600 in 1995/1996 to 110,300 in 1999/2000 (see Figure 6.1, p. 109).

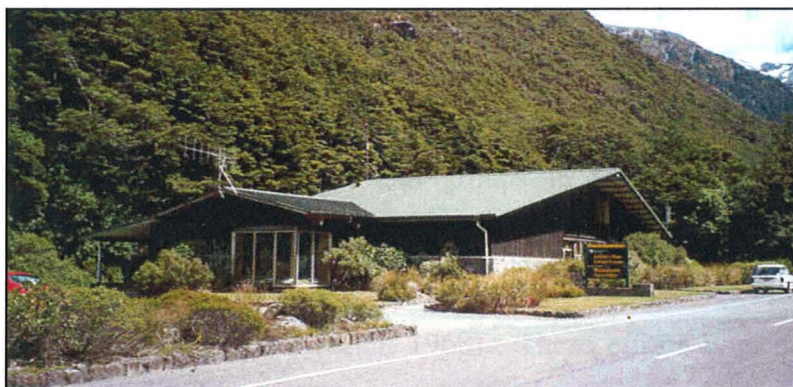


Plate 10: Department of Conservation Area Office and Visitor Centre, Arthur's Pass village.

The Department of Conservation has a strong presence in Arthur's Pass. The Waimakariri Area Office and Visitor Centre occupy the old museum and community centre building in the village. The museum remains as

part of the Visitor Centre. The number of staff at the Area Office varies according to season. Typically there are 10-12 permanent staff and up to five people on shorter contracts, making DOC the largest employer in the village. Many of the staff live in Department-owned houses located in the village.

4.7 Conservation

As evident from the above discussion, most early European interest in the Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin area was based on its productive and transit values. Interactions between the pioneers and the natural environment were often harsh and sometimes life-threatening. There was a utilitarian land philosophy at the time, one that viewed the land as something that needed to be first subdued and then manipulated (Devlin, 1995). Over the last century however, the philosophy has shifted towards recognition of the intrinsic qualities of natural areas in New Zealand (Shultis, 1991), bringing with it an expansion of conservation and recreation activity in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. This expansion will now be described, starting with the formation of Arthur's Pass National Park.

4.7.1 Evolution of Arthur's Pass National Park

The first steps towards the protection of land around Arthur's Pass came in 1901, when Christchurch botanist Leonard Cockayne, who had a keen interest in the alpine flora of the area, successfully campaigned to have more than 70,000 hectares of land set aside for "future national park purposes" (Dennis, 1986). More than two decades passed before further action was taken, when the availability of cheap rail pass excursions from Christchurch caused an influx of visitors to Arthur's Pass (Logan, 1987).

Day-trippers apparently held little respect for the alpine flora that Cockayne had admired so much. Butler (1968) describes how they picked armfuls of ferns, wildflowers, moss and tree branches, only to throw them aside when they saw something better to gather. In 1928 Guy Butler, who had established a hostel at Arthur's Pass, was so concerned about excursionists' impacts on his beloved holiday environment, that he wrote an open letter to various interested persons and groups in Christchurch. The letter pointed out the likelihood of irreparable damage to accessible native plant life and proposed that a board of control be set up. As a result, a public meeting was held in Christchurch later that year to consider the proposal (Butler, 1968). These efforts helped convince the government to legislate for national parks and the *Public Reserves, Domains and National Parks Act 1928* was duly passed (Logan, 1987).

The Arthur's Pass area was growing in popularity in this period, largely because of a growing recreational interest. Tramping parties from Christchurch made publicised trips up the headwaters of the Waimakariri River (Logan, 1987). The recreational value of the area at that time is explained in the following extract from R. S. Odell's first handbook written about the Park in 1935.

“... in addition to the original functions of preserving the wilderness from spoliation and providing a sanctuary for wildlife, national parks have in recent years come to play a very important part of the life of the people as playgrounds where they may find some respite from the artificiality and turmoil of city life, and recreate themselves in body and soul” (p. 17)

Odell's reference to playgrounds also describes well the use of Arthur's Pass for “winter sport” - skiing. This had grown rapidly since its inception in 1927, when one of the first residents began bringing school groups to the area.

Thus skiing interests, along with a growing tramping fraternity lent weight to the nature conservationists' case for gazetting the area. In 1929 Arthur's Pass became New Zealand's third national park after Tongariro (1894) and Egmont (1900). An Arthur's Pass National Park Board was set up to administer the Park at the time of gazettal.

4.7.2 Early days at the National Park

In its first 20 years, the Park Board employed five successive rangers, whose duties were split between the Park and the local council. The ranger's task was an enormous one and with the Board unable to provide adequate funding, most work was done in the Bealey and Otira regions. Work included forming tracks for day walks and access to nearby peaks as well as civic contributions such as improving the appearance of the village and obtaining and improving the local hall. Track work in the further reaches of the Park was done by volunteers from the West Coast who made up the Board's Work Committee (Logan, 1987). There was also assistance from the Christchurch Tramping Club, whose members cut many tracks and built huts in the Park (Dennis, 1979). This outside assistance for the Park Board and the rangers was an important element in the Park's early development.

The growth of skiing facilities in Arthur's Pass National Park was also a result of outside involvement. Early skiers identified Temple Basin as the best skifield site, and the first hut was built there in 1933. Continued enthusiasm from members of the newly founded Christchurch Ski Club resulted in subsequent additions and improvements to the hut and skifield (Dennis, 1979).

The 1950s saw a marked increase in activity by the Park Board. New staff quarters and workshops were built, tracks were extended and upgraded, six new huts were erected and a

landrover was purchased. Outside involvement continued as the New Zealand Alpine Club and Christchurch Ski Club built new facilities and huts (Logan, 1987).

These types of work schemes continued for the following two decades, a period known as the 'back country boom' because of the marked increase in use of natural areas for outdoor recreation (Mason, 1974). Larger new huts and public shelters were constructed in the Park. The Board was also involved in the development of Temple Basin Ski Field, installing a goods lift from the main highway and building two shelters. As well as facilities development, there was expansion of education and interpretation services in the Park. Summer nature programmes, including walks and talks, were organised (Dennis, 1979).

The increased management activity also spread from the National Park into the Waimakariri Basin. Nearly 5000 hectares of State Forest, including the northern end of the Craigieburn Range, was given Forest Park status in 1967. This Craigieburn Forest Park (formally designated a Conservation Park) was bounded by Arthur's Pass National Park in the north and Waimakariri Basin pastoral runs in the east. Land from adjoining state forests was added to Craigieburn Forest Park in 1978, giving a total area of 44,165 hectares. The main objectives of the Park were water and soil conservation, scientific research and educational and recreational use (New Zealand Forest Service, 1981).

4.7.3 Conservation today - the arrival of DOC

During the 1980s there was a reduction in facility development on conservation land in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Recreational and touristic pressures, coupled with the 1984 Labour Government who were intent on deregulation, market reform and greater efficiency in the public sector, drove conservation management in New Zealand into a 'business and negotiation phase' from 1987 (Booth and Simmons, 2000). Consistent with this change, the *1987 Conservation Act* gave rise to a new national administration structure, the Department of Conservation (DOC). DOC was essentially an amalgamation of four pre-existing land management agencies: the Department of Lands and Survey, the Wildlife Service, the Historic Places Trust and the Forest Service. It therefore inherited responsibility for extensive and various lands and structures. For the first time, public conservation planning, management, advocacy and administration were integrated within one agency. The *Conservation Act 1987*, under which DOC was formed, specifies that the Department must manage natural and historic resources for conservation purposes, advocate conservation values, promote the benefits of conservation and education and foster recreation and tourism (DOC's statutory function is given in full in Appendix 3).

Immediately following its creation in 1987, the Department of Conservation established itself in Arthur's Pass village. Today the Waimakariri Area Office of the Department administers 234,500 hectares of mostly mountainous country in an area between the Rakaia and the Hurunui rivers, flanked by the main divide and the North Canterbury foothills. Currently DOC is responsible for 23 separate conservation areas within the Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin study area (see Table 4.2 below). The locations of the conservation lands can be seen in Map 2 on page 56.

Table 4.2: Conservation land in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin

Name ¹	Size(ha)	Notes
Arthur's Pass National Park	103,340	30 huts, shelters and bivouacs; administration shared with DOC's Arahura Field Centre, West Coast
Bealey Spur Conservation Area	48	
Broken River Forest	1000	
Castle Hill Conservation Area	54	Interpretation and toilets
Cave Stream Scenic Reserve	16	Interpretation and toilets
Corner Knob/Goldney Hill CA	111	
Craigieburn Conservation Park	44,170	14 huts shelters and bivouacs
Enys Scientific Reserve	4	
Hawdon Flats	1000	
Lake Grasmere Recreation and Wildlife Reserve	70	Toilet
Lake Grasmere Scenic Reserve	12	
McCaskill Nature Reserve	6	Interpretation
Lochinvar Forest	12,883	5 huts shelters and bivouacs
Mt White CA	500	
Porter Heights Conservation Area	708	Private skifield
Torlesse Forest	3,123	
Waimakariri Riverbed CA	257	
Assorted CAs, gravel reserves and marginal strips	34	
Former Avoca pastoral run	3238	Purchased by the Nature Heritage Fund
Former Benmore pastoral run	6000	"
Total	176574 ha	

Note¹: CA = Conservation Area

Source: DOC, 1995b

Arthur's Pass National Park is the largest park or reserve in the Waimakariri Basin, covering in excess of 100,000 hectares of mountainous terrain. The Arthur's Pass National Park Management Plan (DOC, 1995a) includes three aspects of the Park's management that are notable for local people. First, aircraft use is limited to Park management, search and rescue and approved research, while scenic flights are discouraged. Second, there is concern from DOC about the likelihood of user pressure at Temple Basin Ski Field causing environmental damage. Finally, maintenance of the utility corridor through the Park, including State Highway 73, has the potential to encroach on and damage the Park.

Craigieburn Conservation Park (commonly known as Craigieburn Forest Park) is the second largest park or reserve that DOC administers in the study area. Most of its short walks, picnic areas and shelters are concentrated in a small corner close to State Highway 73. An Environmental Education Centre is also adjacent to the Highway, which is leased to the Canterbury Environmental Trust. Two club skifields operate in the Park, Craigieburn Valley (formerly the North Canterbury Ski Club) and Broken River.

In the 1950s, the New Zealand Forest Service planted trial plots of introduced trees on east-facing slopes near the Environmental Education Centre. Pine varieties with wind-blown seeds have since begun to spread from the plots, causing a wilding-pine problem in the area.

Three other pieces of conservation land in the Waimakariri Basin are notable for the large number of visitors they attract. The Porter Heights Conservation Area includes Porter Heights Skifield, the second largest commercial field in Canterbury. Cave Stream Scenic Reserve offers spectacular views of nearby karst topography and the Torlesse Range, as well as a 362 metre long limestone cave which visitors can traverse. Finally, Castle Hill Conservation Area is a collection of limestone tors recognised as culturally significant for Maori. It is also popular for short walks and rock climbing. In addition, Lake Pearson⁴ attracts large numbers of campers and boaters in the summer.

DOC is under pressure to continue expanding its role in the Waimakariri Basin. In 1991, the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society (hereafter referred to as Forest and Bird)

⁴ The bed and foreshore of Lake Pearson was recently passed over to DOC following claims that speeding boats were causing damage to the southern crested grebe which breed on the lake edge. At the time of writing Lake Pearson is officially a Conservation Area, but is in the process of being given Wildlife Refuge status.

proposed that a new 15,000 hectare conservation park be established on and around the Torlesse Range, at the southern edge of the Waimakariri Basin (Harding, 1991). Since that proposal, pastoral land lying adjacent to the proposed park has been purchased by the Nature Heritage Fund for conservation purposes, and passed over to DOC to manage. The resulting increase in Crown land in the area has prompted further calls from Forest and Bird for an expanded conservation park as well as a suggestion from the Canterbury-Aoraki Conservation Board for a “protected landscapes park” (see Section 1.2.2), which would integrate pastoralism, conservation activity and tourism and recreation (Sage, 1999).

Weed and fire control are DOC management responsibilities of direct interest to landowners and leaseholders in the Waimakariri Basin. A weed strategy developed for the Waimakariri Area ranks infestations for priority of control. Infestation inspections in the Basin have been completed and contracted work has begun at priority sites (DOC, 1999c). The Department has a legal responsibility to fight any fires on or within a one kilometre radius of conservation land. Staff from the Area Office in Arthur’s Pass village make up the DOC fire party, which is supplemented by village members of the Selwyn District Council fire party.

Apart from fire-related issues, any land in the Basin not managed by DOC is under the control of the Selwyn District Council, which operates under the *Resource Management Act 1991* (RMA). The Council restricts such activity as exotic tree planting, creating earthworks, building structures and clearance of indigenous vegetation with respect to their effect on the natural character, amenity, recreational, natural conservation and landscape values in the area (Selwyn District Council, 1995).

4.7.4 A changing conservation management style

The role of protected natural resource managers in New Zealand has changed since the gazettal of Arthur’s Pass National Park in 1929. McBean (1992) identified a shift in emphasis from protection and control in the first half of the 20th century towards a management function in the latter half. Rangers progressed from being pragmatic field operatives to office-based managers. Specialised tasks such as interpretation, ski patrol, search and rescue and mountaineering were taken on in addition to general duties and responsibilities (McBean, 1992).

A changing administrative environment has influenced the evolution of park rangers’ responsibilities. The changing social and political climate regarding environmental management in New Zealand in the last 15 years of the 20th century is well documented

(e.g. Pawson, 1996; Memon & Perkins, 2000a). Global awareness of environmental problems has been growing since the 1970s with the emergence of environmental pressure groups and political parties (James, 1993b). Some have even argued that there has been a widespread change in attitudes, values and beliefs - a paradigm shift away from the anthropocentric notion that nature exists solely for human use, towards ideas such as 'limits to growth' and 'preserving a balance with nature' (e.g. Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978). Buhrs and Bartlett (1993) provide evidence of a growth in New Zealand of support for environmental values and a rise in environmentally conscious behaviour in the 1980s. This change was fuelled in part by natural resource issues in the previous two decades, including hydro-electric power schemes, selective logging proposals and industrial pollution of water bodies (Pawson, 1996). Public support for environmental issues translated into increased political power for environmental lobby groups.

Following the economic reform and the passing of the 1987 *Conservation Act*, conservation managers were forced to take on a broader range of responsibilities, such as maintaining biodiversity and ecological integrity and providing for recreation and fire-fighting. Also, the profile of national parks in general was eroded, as administrators were made responsible for a range of other conservation lands (Espiner, 1995). The legislative changes and restructuring meant a tightening of administration practices for conservation managers. Involvement with outside groups became more formal. The business approach was evidenced in the renewed vigour given to the seeking of concessions from commercial users of national park land.

The reform was intended to overcome problems of conflicting priorities, particularly between conservation and development, within previous environmental agencies. The definite separation of functions (such as DOC's clear mandate for conservation) was intended to promote transparency and accountability (Cocklin, 1989). However, the separation of production and conservation functions has not been without problems. The drawing of rigid boundaries between production and conservation land resources has meant that lands in between, which could be allocated to either use, have become contested resources. The potential for promoting multiple use of land resources no longer exists. In addition, since the reform DOC has come under pressure from a lack of resources to deal with problems such as pest control and maintaining facilities for increasing numbers of visitors (Memon and Perkins, 2000b).

The same period of environmental reform saw the *Resource Management Act* passed in 1991, which became the primary instrument for safeguarding the natural environment

outside the conservation estate⁵ through statutory planning processes. The RMA is implemented mainly by territorial authorities⁶, such as regional or district councils. It establishes operational linkages between those authorities and the Department of Conservation. The RMA requires regional and district councils to prepare and execute plans for the lands in their jurisdiction. Those plans must be consistent with DOC's conservation objectives (as set out in their Conservation Management Strategy documents). However, as Kennedy and Perkins (2000) point out, conservation performance in local government jurisdictions is largely dependent on ratepayer funding, which means most councils have to rely on landowners to voluntarily protect areas with natural values.

Restructuring following the Cave Creek tragedy

Further restructuring occurred in DOC following the collapse of a viewing platform and the loss of 14 lives in 1995 at Cave Creek, on the West Coast of the South Island. The ensuing focus on the quality of structures led to a general questioning of the adequacy of departmental operating systems (DOC, 1995c).

Acting on recommendations from a Government commission of inquiry and an official review of DOC's performance, a Quality Conservation Management (QCM) system was developed to manage the visitor-related structures DOC had inherited from its predecessors. Included in this was the Visitor Asset Management Programme (VAMP), which uses a site scoring system to prioritise and justify the allocation of scarce resources to visitor services and facilities. Four criteria are used - current and anticipated demand, the importance of the site for recreation and education and the potential for visitor appreciation and understanding. Sites or facilities without a high enough priority to receive a portion of allocated funds are either not maintained or, if there are safety concerns, removed (DOC, 2000a).

⁵ Refers to all the land which is administered by the Department of Conservation in New Zealand.

⁶ Also referred to as 'local government'.

DOC's development and early implementation of VAMP was characterised by a lack of stakeholder input (B. Jensen⁷, personal communication, July 27, 2000). Subsequently, grievances were expressed by user groups, stemming from (i) a lack of initial understanding about the possibility of facility loss and (ii) disagreement about the way VAMP incorporates the relative merits of front and back country sites when prioritising (B. Smith⁸, personal communication, July 27, 2000). There is a perception among some user groups that VAMP targets low-use back country facilities for demolition in favour of high-use front country facilities - colloquially referred as the Department 'pulling out of the back country'.

Initially applied to facility management, QCM has been extended to apply to other DOC management activities. QCM necessitated changes in DOC's structure, notably the creation of area offices in 1997. Together with the restructuring, QCM brought a new operating style to DOC, characterised by separated lines of accountability, standard operating procedures, business planning and regular operating reviews (DOC, 2000b). Autonomy was taken from conservancies and a corporate image has emerged - a significant change in DOC's culture.

4.8 Chapter summary and conclusions

Human history in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, either Maori or European, tells of a close relationship between social and natural environments. The surrounding landscape, climate and natural resources have played important roles in the lives of Maori inhabitants, European pastoralists, road and rail builders, service providers, recreationists and tourism entrepreneurs, both historical and contemporary.

The Maori relationship with the environment is holistic, based on symbolism and spiritualism. However, it is the European presence that has played the central role in shaping the current social environment in the study area. Interest in the land has revolved around three forms of land use - pastoralism, transportation and conservation.

⁷ Bryan Jensen is the Manager of the Waimakariri Area of the Department of Conservation, stationed in Arthur's Pass village.

⁸ Brian Smith is a member of the Inter-Club Visitor Asset Management Working Party, a group set up by recreational groups concerned about possible effects of DOC's asset management strategy on outdoor recreational opportunities on public conservation land.

The study area has an imposing landscape which, together with the sometimes extreme climate, creates a hostile biophysical environment. This is particularly so in Arthur's Pass village, where the narrowness of Bealey Valley and the closeness of the (often snow-capped) mountains and forest of the National Park add an atmosphere of remoteness. However, it is these very factors which have contributed to the growth of conservation activity in the area. The increased recognition of intrinsic values in the area appears to contrast somewhat with the more utilitarian values associated with pastoralism and transit construction. Despite this apparent conflict, the emerging form of local subsistence and development in the area - tourism - is founded on all three land uses.

Moreover, the style of conservation management in the area has altered. In the past it was an inconspicuous, low-budget and community-oriented administration focusing mainly on maintaining walking tracks within Arthur's Pass National Park. Today, it is a much more obtrusive and regimented system, with responsibilities for a greater range of tasks and lands. Where managers used to encourage and be actively involved in park developments initiated by outsiders, support has lessened. The focus has instead been on the tasks and outcomes they have decided on as being consistent with conservation legislation.

Relationships between the local population and conservation activity around them occur within a complex medium - a harsh yet rewarding physical environment, a history of varying attitudes towards the land, a changing conservation management style and the intricacies of a small, isolated, rural community in the 21st century.

The next chapter is the first of three theme chapters resulting from the researcher's interpretation of the information collected during the study. It draws on interview material to describe and discuss links between the conservation lands and the lifestyles of the people in the study area.

Chapter 5 - Lifestyles, recreation and place attachment

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis, lifestyle is taken to mean the living conditions, routines and behaviours that are characteristic of people or chosen by people. The ways that people use, are affected by, and think about their local environment contributes to their lifestyle. This is particularly true in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, where history shows that the social and natural environments are interwoven. This chapter gives insight into connections between the local environment and conditions in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, and the lifestyles of study participants. Particular attention is given to roles played by and meanings given to local conservation lands.

In Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, lifestyle revolves around a variety of situational characteristics. Some of these characteristics, such as the high country and mountain environment and the small size and relative remoteness of the community, are not unique to Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Other characteristics, such as the local history, the proximity and extent of conservation land and the extreme alpine weather are site-specific and occur in few other communities in New Zealand.

All the local conditions, site-specific or otherwise, are inter-related and come together to define Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin and the people who live there. Locals live their lives in a small remote community; within the confines of a mountain environment dominated by conservation land; following in the footsteps of road and railway workers, pastoralists, park rangers and holiday-makers.

Locals are influenced by the conditions in which they live. However they also assign certain meanings to particular aspects of their surroundings. This chapter clarifies the different values and meaning given by participants to their surroundings. Study participants gave many positive meanings to the conservation land around them, portraying it in terms of its security, accessibility, recreational opportunities, scenic beauty, future value as a pristine resource, potential base for sustainable development through eco-tourism, and spiritual values. These aspects of the local environment help compensate for

the hardships and difficulties associated with living in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin.

5.2 Why live in Arthur's Pass?

The conservation lands and opportunities for recreation in Arthur's Pass attract people who value and respect the surrounding environment. However, the presence of the conservation land tends to limit employment to tourism-based or handyman type jobs. Many of those who finally settle in Arthur's Pass must place sufficiently high value on the area for the sacrifice of job quality to be worthwhile. Other factors also come into the equation however. The types of jobs to be had in Arthur's Pass are flexible and provide a lifestyle that allows time for outdoor recreation. In addition, the cost of living is reported to be relatively low, lessening the need for a full-time high-paying job.

Aside from some of the high country farmers and an operator of a second-generation tourism business, very few current residents have been born and raised in the Arthur's Pass or Waimakariri Basin area.

Table 3.3 (p. 39) shows that, excluding bach owners, only three of the 32 contributors to the study have a greater than 30 year association with the study site. A frequent comment regarding Arthur's Pass residents is that they have all made a deliberate choice about where to settle, rather than seeing Arthur's Pass as just another place to live. The following two comments emphasise the significance of choosing to live in the area, referring to positive community outcomes as a result:

"... they've all chosen to live here, they've come because they want to live here. And because they have that common bond, that's why everybody gets along."
(Chris, a village resident)

"... quite a few people who live in Arthur's Pass have come to live there because of the natural scenic attractions of the place. Whereas in a lot of other places people live there because that's where they were born. People have made a conscious decision to come ... and that does enrich the community." (Michael, a tourism operator)

Michael suggests that people choose to go to Arthur's Pass because of the distinctive natural environment. This notion is confirmed by the remarks of many other residents, who point to the mountain scenery and the recreational opportunities and facilities provided by conservation activity as drawcards. The following explanations by Daniel and Frank, both village residents, are typical of this:

"... when I was a kid it was my dream to live up in the mountains. It was somewhere that I'd always wanted to live. Not particularly in Arthur's Pass, but in this sort of environment. And I came here, I lived in a rented house for a while and loved it so much I bought the house, and here we are."

“I may have been seeking a rural environment in general but what I found was a place in the middle of a national park, which is pretty remarkable ... The opportunity to live in a relatively more pristine environment was very important. I saw it as a real opportunity -- where else would I find this kind of stuff ... a ten minute drive and you're at 920 metres and you can go up into the mountains, it's pretty good.”

However, there are trade-offs involved when residents choose to live in Arthur's Pass. Generally, the village participants are in employment that falls short of the wages, security and working conditions that they experienced previously in the cities. Andrea noted that Arthur's Pass residents sacrifice job quality in favour of the chance to live in Arthur's Pass:

“... you will find that other people [in Arthur's Pass] have done lots of different jobs around the village, or they do two or three part time jobs so they can have their lifestyle choice, y'know, their recreation or whatever, or just living here.”

These comments bear out the significance of outdoor recreation in the decision to live at Arthur's Pass. The next section examines more closely the role of outdoor recreation in those choices.

5.2.1 A life-path of Arthur's Pass village residents

Many who shift to Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin undergo a change in lifestyle and leisure pattern. Participants who had moved to the village within the last 20 years were able to describe this transition. For five Arthur's Pass village residents, the decision to shift to the area was heavily influenced by expectations of certain changes in lifestyle, notably an increase in outdoor recreation. Similarities in accounts of their arrival in the village and subsequent lifestyle changes allow the identification of a recreational life-path model for such village residents, covering the period immediately before and after transition (Figure 5.1 below). The model is based on the Life Course model proposed by Kelly and Godbey (1992, see Section 2.3.2).

Figure 5.1 below shows three stages that the new residents passed through while settling in Arthur's Pass village - 'initial attraction', 'wanting to stay' and 'putting roots down'.

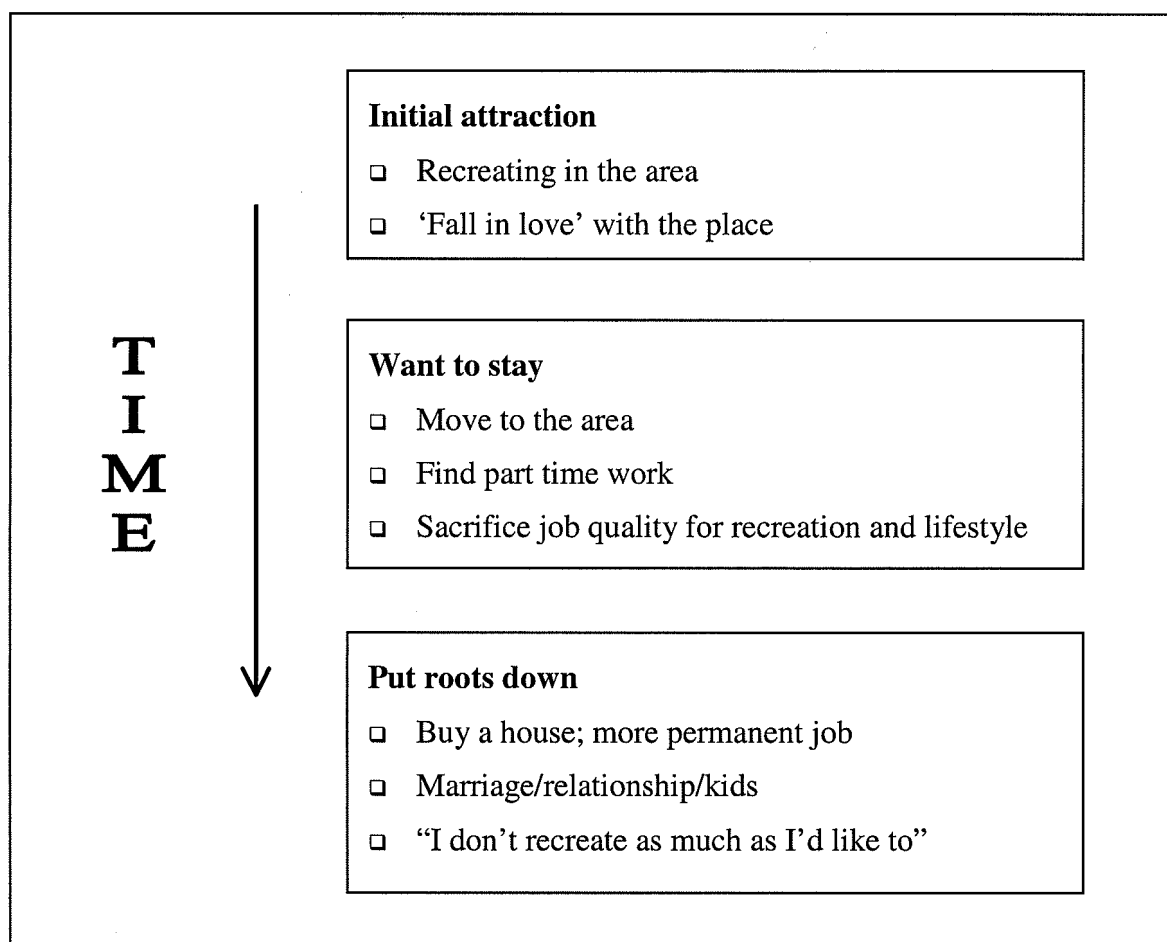


Figure 5.1: Life-path model based on outdoor recreation in Arthur's Pass

Although these may be self evident phases in any process of changing home, there is a unique factor in Arthur's Pass village - the nearby conservation lands and the recreation opportunities they provide. Recreation starts out as a motivation for the move to Arthur's Pass and becomes a major part of the lifestyle, before decreasing or changing at the next transition - when greater commitments to family and/or employment need to be made.

The people on whom the model is based were single, middle-aged and looking for a change in direction in life and a new place to live. They were attracted to Arthur's Pass by its recreational opportunities, mountain scenery and conservation values. Gary's early tramping and climbing experiences at Arthur's Pass were typical:

"... when I came ... I really felt instantly at home here. And I'd never been to Arthur's before, but I really enjoyed the atmosphere at the place, the climate was great, y'know, at that time of year, and I just had a pretty carefree existence, just going for day-walks and overnight tramps. Just the nature of the place really appealed to me, yeah the alpine environment, that's what really appealed to me."

Once attracted to the area and its recreational opportunities, individuals shift to Arthur's Pass village, making a transition, or anticipated change in their life course. Few houses come up for sale in the village so some new residents choose to rent homes. Others

initially use budget tourist accommodation in the village (backpackers and youth hostel). The local tourism industry has a ready supply of work for new people, either in the accommodation sector or through servicing visitors' needs. Those who opt to stay in budget tourism accommodation are able to gain 'back door' entry into local tourism employment.

Often, the readily available tourism employment involved more mundane and menial types of work than what the residents have previously done. It also pays much less. However the flexible work hours offered by the tourism and service-based employment are most suitable for new residents eager to take full advantage of the local recreational opportunities. Stefan and Chris describe the sacrifices they made to live in Arthur's Pass:

"I discovered that you could actually create your own employment here in a way ... as long as you're prepared to do anything. Y'know I don't mind cleaning toilets, I'll do anything as long as it means I can still be here."

"... most people are coming here because of tramping in the natural area and they've stayed. Cause there's quite a lot of people who are ex professionals who decided that they didn't want to do what they used to do. And, [they were] all into the outdoors, just like me, they became transfixed with Arthur's Pass. This was the place I wanted to stay. It's not an easy place. It's hard to find houses to buy. It's hard to get jobs, you have to do whatever, most of the jobs involve cleaning toilets, doing things like that. But people are prepared because they want to live here, they're prepared to do other things that might not necessarily appeal to them."

Leisure participation is influenced by abilities, opportunities and resources that change throughout the life course (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). For the five individuals whose lifestyle descriptions led to the formulation of Figure 5.1, the ability to recreate already existed, as a result of previous experiences. However, the opportunity (proximity to conservation lands) and resources (time availability) for recreation were pre-determined outcomes of the decision to shift to Arthur's Pass. In this instance, leisure preference resulted in a life transition, rather than a life transition resulting in changed leisure patterns.

Over time, the need to make a fuller commitment to a future life in Arthur's Pass arises. This generally occurs through social changes such as the formation of intimate relationships or the arrival of children, purchasing homes and gaining secure full-time employment. At this point recreation participation changes, becoming either less frequent or shifting from activities that benefit the individual to activities which also benefit partners and/or children. The transition evident in Gary's recreation patterns is a good example of this:

“These days, being a family man, I might go out just a handful of times a year, and for shorter trips of just three or four days. As opposed to when I was a single person, I went out at least 10 or 11 times a year for a minimum of ten days ... So for nearly a third of the year I was actually tramping and climbing in the hills, because I was a single person, and my job allowed that, that I could take my days off in a big lump every month. So I would scoot out to the hills to do a 8-12 day tramp.”

Such changes in leisure are consistent with Kelly and Godbey’s (1992) transition to an “establishment” phase in the life course, where new work and family roles limit leisure resources such as time and money. However, residents at Arthur’s Pass continue to have ready access to a large recreation resource - the National Park and nearby Waimakariri Basin conservation lands. Leisure in Arthur’s Pass therefore retains a strong outdoor recreation element rather than focusing on the home, as Kelly and Godbey suggest will occur in more conventional settings. The frequent wet weather at Arthur’s Pass, however, sometimes forces parents to stay inside with their children, necessitating indoor leisure.

The recreational life-path model (Figure 5.1) describes, in the main, those people who arrived in the village in the last 15 years without a job or business awaiting them. However, there were also people arriving during this time with employment already assured. They too had a strong affinity for the area, but were not such avid recreationists that they would consider moving to the village without a definite employment prospect. Their lifestyle does not have the flexibility for recreation since they have a greater commitment to their job. Robyn’s experiences are consistent with this explanation:

“... the reason we came [to Arthur’s Pass], it was going to be -- a great way of life (laughs). But when you put a [tourism business] into a place like this you don’t get outdoors very much. We were going to do lots and lots of things, like walking [in the Park], but it just hasn’t happened because you’re working, y’know, seven days a week.”

Those with less-enthusiasm for recreation are, in effect, skipping the second stage of the recreational life-path, moving directly from their initial attraction to the area to a secure existence in the village. In doing so they sacrifice the flexible lifestyle and are unable to capitalise on the recreation opportunities offered by the conservation lands.

Life within the Arthur’s Pass surroundings maintains and sometimes increases the affinity that residents have for conservation land and natural environments. This is more evident among people who were not attracted to the area solely because of its conservation or recreation values, but also by its business opportunities, employment, or those following their spouse. For some of these people, living in Arthur’s Pass village has changed their attitudes towards conservation lands and natural environments. Mary and Ben, a married

couple from Arthur's Pass, spoke of how living in Arthur's Pass had changed their attitudes:

Mary: "It's actually an educational thing. I mean, I had no background or anything in conservation before I came here, and it grows on you, and you do take up the values. I mean, us for example, we've actually gone for revegetating twenty acres down on the foothills, and we'll live there when we retire, sort of thing. But I don't think either of us would have done that if we hadn't lived here."

Researcher: "So [living in Arthur's Pass has] perhaps, changed your values or...?"

Ben: "[Its] put different emphasis on things, certainly."

Mary: "Without that exposure, I probably could still be living in a place like Oxford¹, where you do a little bit with your quarter acre, but that's about it."

McDonald and Schreyer (1991) suggest that leisure participation in natural settings can lead to heightened awareness of the value of natural environments and the conscious choice to engage in similar future activities. For Mary and Ben, living and recreating in the Arthur's Pass environment has nurtured their appreciation of the natural environment to the extent that they have taken steps to ensure that similar living/recreational opportunities will be open to them in the future. This underscores the close links between the leisure experience and the living experience (or lifestyle) for some in Arthur's Pass.

The protected natural environment and the recreational opportunities it provides are important elements of living in Arthur's Pass, often motivating the choice to live in the village. The next section looks in more detail at the link between conservation land recreation and lifestyle.

5.3 Recreation and lifestyle

This section reveals aspects of the link between recreation and lifestyle for local people in the study area. The types of recreation undertaken by locals are briefly described. Forms of attachment to recreational settings are then analysed, which leads into examination of locals' motivations for and benefits received from recreation activities. The importance of conservation land recreation for families and children in Arthur's Pass is then discussed.

¹ Oxford is a rural service town situated on the plains just east of the North Canterbury foothills, less than one hour's drive from Arthur's Pass village (see Map 1, p. 46).

Finally, differences between recreation- and work-related activities on conservation land are considered.

5.3.1 Types of recreation undertaken

Residents and bach owners undertake various forms of recreation activity in the conservation land around them. Short walks and tramps were the most commonly mentioned activities by participants; others included skiing, multi-day tramps, climbing, hunting, kayaking, mountain-biking, fishing and four-wheel driving.

The significance of recreation in lifestyle varied across different sections of the study population. Recreation on conservation land was a significant lifestyle aspect for ten of the 13 village residents interviewed. These people spoke in positive terms about their recreation although not all of them recreate in the Park on a regular basis. The four Arthur's Pass bach owners who contributed to the study also had strong backgrounds of recreation in the area, although their participation had reduced as they aged. Formal recreation time played a less important role in the lifestyles of some of the business people in the study area, such as tourism operators and farmers.

5.3.2 Recreational attachment, benefits and motivations

Chapter 4 (Section 4.7.1) showed how recreationists played a significant role in the evolution of the National Park and village at Arthur's Pass. Recreation continues to be important in the lives of local people today, representing much of their physical contact with the conservation land. This section focuses on locals' attachment to recreation settings as well as their motivations for and benefits from outdoor recreation.

Affinity for the Park land based on recreational use is a form of action-oriented attachment, as described by Low and Altman (1992). Memories of the outcomes of individual activities and behaviour during recreation combine with perceptions of setting attributes to create a recreational place attachment. For some participants, feelings of possession of the conservation lands are based on recreational use of the land in the distant past. Aaron, a bach owner with memories from 1940 of hunting in the area with his father, spoke of his connection with a favourite hunting spot:

"...[the hunting area], that's your own. I don't want anybody else there. My territory up there's mine. I'm a bit peeved when I come across anybody else. I've put in my will that that's where the kids have got to scatter my ashes and I've told them -- I've given them the co-ordinates exactly where it is to be done ... So, y'know, hopefully it'll make the grass grow and the deer will come down to eat the grass and somebody else'll be able to 'bowl' them. 'Cause I've 'bowled' a few there anyway (laughing)."

Aaron's long association with the recreation setting and the quality of his experiences (his hunting successes) appear to be significant factors in his attachment to the setting.

Arthur's Pass residents are extremely close to the National Park and access is very easy. Under national park legislation, entry is free to everybody. Tom is one of many who appreciate the close proximity and convenience, forming possessive attitudes towards the Park land:

"... with the Park at the back door you can do all those things, I mean I just take for granted, but I mean, I go shooting, I go skiing, I do all these things. Y'know, you get home from work and you can actually go and do it for a couple or three hours, you don't have to go far ... I guess when you live in a place like this, in the middle of a national park -- I mean, I already regard the National Park as my, sort of, backyard. I mean, 240,000 acres of backyard, with no fence."

The different aspects of recreational attachment found in Aaron and Tom's accounts - length of association, quality of experience, proximity and ease of access, are consistent with those found by Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) (see Section 2.3.1).

Feelings of possessiveness towards the conservation lands as a result of recreation are common among village residents. Aaron's possessive attitude towards 'his' hunting area is not unusual. Chris also expressed feelings of possession and stewardship, based on recreational experiences in the National Park:

"I always go tramping on my own. I don't necessarily like to share it with other people. I like to have it all to myself. I like the feeling of just being alone as you camp beside some little tarn. I take a lot of photographs, not to show to anybody else, just for my own, it's something that I do when I'm up in the hills, that's how I spend my time. Sunrises and sunsets and -- just the light, with the different mountains and rocks and tarns. Yeah, that's really why I live here, it's those times that have made me want to ... But there's nothing worse than when you're up in a beautiful spot and somebody has actually made a fire ring, and made a fire, and of course they've just left it so there's just this scar around. And it's just so unnecessary ... I guess it's their idea of being out 'bush', but to me it isn't, because you leave this scar."

Chris's distaste for overt signs of human use in the Park is a palpable indicator of his environmental values. His strong stance on this seems consistent with the fact that he was drawn to live in the village for the unique natural and recreational values of the area. His socio-cultural background thus influences his attachment to the recreational setting, a link that conforms with accepted conceptualisations of recreational place attachment (e.g. Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; see Section 2.3.1). Socialisation processes are also crucial to the formation of values (Moore, 1995), which reinforces the conceptual link between values and place attachment.

People with different backgrounds are likely to have a different values, different viewpoints on the environment and different forms of place attachment. With this in mind, an interesting comparison can be drawn between Chris' disparaging remarks about people leaving camp-fire scars in the Park, and the following comments from Alex, who is less critical of recreational impact on conservation land:

"I think people need conservation areas where they can get out. And they should be allowed to camp and they should be able to -- in certain conditions, light a fire and boil up a billy and have a shit behind a bit of scrub and not be a problem. Y'know people are getting carried away -- y'know, birds shit in the woods, so we should be allowed to ... I think humans are becoming regarded as aliens, with a lot of the conservation people [referring to Department of Conservation staff]. Y'know, you're not allowed to light a fire, you're not allowed to pick up a bit of wood and carry it back to the hut. It should be appreciated that we are part of the environment as well. We should be allowed to use it ..."

The less conservative values expressed by Alex are consistent with his high country farming background and more utilitarian perspective and attachment to the area. Alex sees humans as part of the natural environment, a perception which, for him, justifies human use and the potential for environmental impact.

Different again are the feelings of Margaret, a bach owner, who sees forays into the National Park as times of reverence. For her, the mountain environment is something ancient and sacred and therefore worthy of the greatest respect:

"... you are in this magnificent area and you're an intruder and you just have to, y'know, go very softly and quietly as it were, you have to know that for everything to be like that, you're being given this privilege of -- almost as if you're turning the centuries back. That's how I like to think of it ... For me I think one of the greatest experiences is to let the present time go away when you are, sort of, intruding into the vastness of the mountains ... And there's a very very special thing about that, as though a thousand years is nothing and erosion and everything is just going on around you."

The implication in the above quote that the mountain environment around Arthur's Pass is of great value simply because it is ancient comes closer to a true intrinsic valuing of the local environment than any other participant's comments. However, Margaret's words also reveal elements of the spiritual values (see Section 2.2.1) she associates with natural environment experiences. She notes that being in the mountains allows one to "... let the present time go away..." and become immersed in nature's time-scale. This draws comparison with Schroeder's (1991) suggestion that spiritual experiences in a natural environment can imbue a sense of connection to a larger reality. McDonald and Schreyer (1991) proposed that spiritual outcomes of place experiences can lead to enhanced environmental appreciation. Margaret's expression of humility in the face of a seemingly

timeless natural environment is consistent with this notion; it fuels her desire to “...go very softly and quietly...” without harming the environment.

Interviews suggest that those attached to the area for its natural and recreation characteristics have a ‘greener’ set of environmental values than those drawn for other reasons (business or farming). Recreational attachment to the conservation lands is widespread among locals. However, as the above quotes indicate, there is variation in the environmental values that influence it.

Recreation on conservation land is important to local people for different reasons. Participants tended to mention health benefits from their outdoor recreation only in passing; or as being so obvious that they did not require explanation. However, many referred to less tangible aspects of their outdoor recreation at Arthur’s Pass, such as feelings of achievement, escape and spiritual renewal.

Nobody spoke with more passion about their recreation than Gary. His comments, shown below, indicated several dimensions to his recreation experiences, including aesthetic appreciation of the natural environment, appreciation of back country huts, physical exercise, achievement, companionship, spiritual renewal and simple enjoyment.

“Going tramping and out into the hills is ... multi-pleasurable for me. I really like photography, photographing the natural landscape and things you might see there, the light effect. I really enjoy the sort of culture of back-country huts and their architecture and that style and location of lots of those little backcountry huts ... And of course I like the exercise of it all. But I just like the -- feeling of, sort of, spiritual renewal you get out there in the mountains. It’s kind of hard to be specific about it ... but, you probably know what I mean. You get this nice sense of -- I go out and find myself, have my soul renewed, come back feeling healthy. And you get, just, good exercise. And I just really enjoy the outdoors. Just really enjoy seeing and experiencing the natural landscape of the country as much as possible. And also getting a great sense of, sort of, achievement, if you can walk through the mountains for many days...”

“I prefer to go with a companion, just one, purely for the companionship, and just to share the experience and have someone to chat to at night-time. But having said that, half of my trips are done alone, but I’d rather go alone than not at all ... Life is too short to be waiting for someone else to be available to come with you. But I like to go out with a friend ... and just enjoy it together. Because it’s really enjoyable. I like, y’know, nice evenings in a hut or a tent together having a laugh, around a fire, just sharing the moment of it all. Or else sitting on top of some beautiful mountain with a staggering view below you and all around you, having your lunch, and no one up there but the two of you, and maybe a few kea flying around. [You’re] saying “isn’t this great, we’ve got all this to ourselves”. And then you move on and the next day the view was different y’know. I like that feeling of progression through the landscape.” (Gary)

The fact that the environment in which he recreates is protected is something extra special for Gary, who, like several others, placed high value on its pristine character:

“I think there’s an emotional value attached, for me, when I look at landscape that has never been touched by the hand of man beyond tramping boots going over it ... Looking at that mountain-side [looks out window], further up, above where they cleared trees for the [train] tunnel. But further up, the beech forest is original, y’know ... I think there’s just a satisfaction in knowing that at least we’ve kept about 25 to 30 per cent of our natural forests. That’s what’s left now ... and I’m in part of it now, lets try and keep [it] ... And I think its just a, yeah, I can’t put a tangible value on it, I can’t sort of...judge it in a...physical way any more than that. Its just that there’s a nice kind of smug satisfied feeling knowing this is original, this is untouched, this is how it used to be, and is now, and should always be. It’s a part of the country that *hasn’t* been flattened for agriculture, in particular, or commerce, industry or residency. And, those who want to, like me, can go out there, free of charge, and walk through it, and photograph it and sleep in it and look after it, and not trash it, and it will always be there for people like us who enjoy that.”

Gary refers to an “emotional value” that he assigns to the pristine Arthur’s Pass National Park recreation environment. His sentiments also indicate a form of symbolic value for his natural environment experiences (see Table 2.2, p. 16). Schroeder (1995; in CPRA, 1997) defines such a symbolic value as a link between a particular environment and a personal memory, cultural identity or value. For Gary, Arthur’s Pass National Park symbolises the retention of pristine natural environments and opportunities for recreation on them - features of New Zealand on which he places high value.

The sense of escapism in outdoor recreation (see Table 2.4, p. 18) is often expressed; telephones, mobile phones and television are icons of modern civilisation that people feel happy to avoid as part of their recreation experience. Ben’s comments illustrate this feeling:

Ben: “...[my family and I] don’t often do big tramps around the place. But we often use the front country. Y’know we enjoy picnicking, we will walk anything up to an hour off the main road to a favourite picnic spot or just walk around in the bush or stuff like that. So we enjoy it from that point of view. We do a lot of day walks around the place ...”

Researcher: “Do you think you get any benefit from that?”

Ben: “Oh yes, it’s a great stress reliever isn’t it. There are no telephones out there [in the National Park], it’s one of the few places where cell phones won’t work, it’s great. So you can get away from it all and yet be quite close to home, to civilisation. I mean, we can walk for five minutes from here [Arthur’s Pass village] and go picnicking and be, for all intents and purposes, miles away from anywhere.”

The fact that locals feel a need to escape these products of civilisation in a relatively remote place like Arthur’s Pass is a reflection of the spread of telecommunications technology into rural areas.

Sandy reiterates the escapism theme in the following account of his recreation experiences, which includes a number of less-instrumental qualities of recreating in the environment:

“You get the clear benefits of exercise, fresh air and all those things like that. But [recreation on conservation land] also gives you the silence, y’know away from that [points to the television], the road, the railway, all those sorts of things. If you live in a city it’s an incredibly noisy place really ... The structure of the word ‘re-creation’ tells you something about what happens out there. That it’s a very revitalising renewing sort of experience. So being in among it, in among the native elements is a very sort of restoring process. I think it sort of resets your equilibrium and everything else.” (Sandy from DOC)

These comments, like those of others speaking about their recreation, imply an element of escapism or a desire to “exit civilisation” (Devlin, 1976; in Moore, 1995). Sandy’s remarks clarify a possible reason for escaping or exiting civilisation. Using words such as “re-creation”, “renew” and “reset”, Sandy refers to a personal return to an original or superior condition as a result of his recreation on conservation land. Two modes of thinking are evident in this return. First, it is implied that the more overt manifestations of human presence in the village, such as television, the road and the railway², somehow undermine a valuable part of human existence. Sandy’s urban upbringing and subsequent relocation to a village within a national park suggests a preference for an existence closer to nature. Second, the Park land is seen as symbolic of an original state (i.e., the “native elements” are pristine and original). Thus recreation on conservation land, which involves getting out of earshot of the road and railway, has the potential to rectify the drift away from the valued ‘natural’ form of existence; it restores “...the silence”.

For some participants, painting and drawing the natural environment opens up avenues for creative expression while others see their time in the Park as an opportunity for photography or building knowledge of local flora and fauna. Time spent in conservation lands also allows contemplation:

“I have a rock, half way up the track to ... that I call my “thinking rock”. If I have any problems at home I just climb up there and by the time I’ve sat up there for half an hour and looked down over the village, I’ve solved all the problems in the world, being up above the world. -- I’m not as good without being able to make it up to my rock. Sitting on that rock and looking down those ridges, I feel more capable. It’s not really something that you can explain to someone else.” (Barbara, a bach owner)

² Local views on the appropriateness of the road and railway in Arthur’s Pass are discussed in Section 5.5.1.

“[I sometimes go up] to Mt ... I sit up there because there’s a clutch of keas that live up there, that’s where they roost. I just sit up on the cliffs with them, when I need to “contemplate my navel” as they say, or need time out. Y’know, if something has got me down or I get depressed I tend to take it out on my body basically, and head up a hill, wear myself out, and sit up there just quietly looking down on the village ...” (Stefan, village resident)

Recognised benefits of recreation, such as positive mood changes, self-confidence and self-capability (see Table 2.5, p. 20), are evident in these comments. Barbara’s reference to her “thinking rock” indicates the capacity she has to use the natural environment around Arthur’s Pass as a stimulus for personal reflection and problem solving. Stefan sometimes uses recreation in the Park as a coping strategy, to alleviate periods of frustration or depression that arise in his life.

Most of the benefits or relationships with the environment discussed here have involved individuals. Villagers also mentioned positive outcomes for children and families from conservation land recreation - a theme which will now be developed.

5.3.3 Family recreation and child development

Opportunities for recreation on conservation land and the proximity of the natural environment to family homes influence family life in the study area, particularly within Arthur’s Pass village. Half of the village residents spoken to in this study were living with or had lived with young families. All of these families were using or had used conservation land for recreation. They generally walked in front country areas of the study area, such as the Waimakariri River Bed, Avalanche Peak, the Otira Valley or even along the Bealey River, which passes through the village. The nearness of the natural environment, literally on the back doorstep for some, means that children grow up with day-to-day experiences in the outdoor environment.

Recreation on protected land and life within a natural setting have positive spin-offs for families. Parents considered their family’s recreation to be a valuable form of family cohesion and child education, while the daily exposure to a raw natural environment built children’s confidence, capability and self-reliance:

“... they just seemed to entertain themselves a lot easier ... being in a natural outdoor playground, they found their own fun ... They’ve got that natural balance that they get with just generally being outdoors and doing stuff.” (Val, a village resident and mother of four)

“... [the recreation here with the family], it gives you an opportunity to talk, when you want to educate your kids, because you’re walking along and you’re seeing things, they’re asking questions. Y’know, the fact that your physical body is actually tied up with doing something often releases your mind to be able to talk about things in a way that you can’t necessarily do [when] all sitting around the couch. And it’s a chance to teach them their history, so you can talk about their tupūna who live in those mountains and the stories to do with that, and you can talk to them about their natural history ... and stuff like that, to give them a greater appreciation of the whenua. So it’s educational, it’s healthy, it’s all those sorts of things.” (Sandy, a village resident and parent)

The various child and family benefits mentioned by Val and Sandy - independence, “natural balance”, health, parental education and providing “opportunity to talk” - have parallels with established benefits of recreation such as developmental benefits, social skills and family bonding (see Table 2.5, p. 20).

The social setting also influences family life and child development. The community is small, relatively remote and struggling to keep its school viable - factors contributing to a limited scope for social interaction among the children. Arthur and Sandy, both with experience raising children in the village, see these factors as placing the onus on the family as a unit and necessitating more parental input in their children’s education:

“Because the kids haven’t got lots of friends that they can just disappear to ... in some ways you’re forced to interact more as a family ...”

“Schooling’s a real issue up here ... it tends to put you back on your own resources quite a lot. And that’s a good thing, to have to be participating in your kids’ education ...”

The social setting in Arthur’s Pass is also seen as making children more independent, having more responsibility and maturing faster socially. However, parents acknowledge that the children are, to some extent, cut off from the rest of the world:

“They’re a little more naïve, not as world-wise as the children down on the plains, that’s not a bad thing. You’re a little more protected here I think, as a child. Although in a lot of ways they’re very mature, socially they’re very mature because they associate with adults most of the time. So, y’know, they tend to call adults by their first names.” (Mary)

“... your kids can’t go astray too readily, the [community] will see what’s happening. And they’ll tell you, “hey, I saw them throwing stones through the window down at so and so”. Y’know, they don’t get away with stuff, there’s a sense of responsibility. I think they pick up a sense of responsibility much faster. They’re forced to relate to people who are much older than themselves, I think they become much better communicators across a range of ages.” (Sandy)

However, some parents also have serious concerns about social deprivation and the lack of facilities, particularly the school. Two families spoken to intend moving out of the area once their children reach primary school age. Gary’s comment explains why:

“There are only one or two other little kids in the village that she [participant’s child] can play with and they’re not here all the time, so her social development ... could be affected in the long run if we don’t make an effort to go somewhere where there are more little children ... It’s just the lack of facilities, among other things, will ultimately -- and this has proven to be the case in the past for quite a few families, will decide that we move.”

The inability to attract and retain families is seen as a serious threat to the future of the community. Few families are attracted to live in the area for this reason, a situation particularly noticeable among DOC staff. Closure of the school would be also be detrimental to the community. Schools in rural New Zealand communities are often focal points for the community and act as meeting places for parents and residents, students and staff (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1994). The lack of facilities also deters individuals like Robyn, a small business operator in the village, from making long-term commitments to Arthur’s Pass:

“I don’t intend to live here in my old age, put it that way. Because I really just think that this is not a place for old age, y’know, because you need to be nearer [to] the facilities.”

Consideration of both positive and negative aspects of raising a family near a national park indicates a dilemma. The recreation opportunity and conservation land in Arthur’s Pass is seen as a positive influence on families. However, the isolation of the area (which is one of the reasons why conservation lands could be established) and the lack of facilities (particularly the school) also serve to decrease the long-term attractiveness of Arthur’s Pass for families. The lack of facilities also reduces the attractiveness of Arthur’s Pass as a place for the elderly.

5.3.4 Work versus recreation

The daily routines of some participants, such as pastoral farmers, DOC staff, tourism operators and walking and hunting guides, involve being out in the high country environment or on conservation land. However, their experiences in these settings differ from the recreation experiences mentioned above.

Sandy, a DOC staff member describes his work on conservation land and points out that having a work-related objective removes any element of recreational enjoyment from the job:

“... you can’t enjoy your work [on conservation land] in the same way as you can recreationally, because you do actually have a mission ... When you’re actually going somewhere for work, it’s a very different thing, you’re orientated on getting to where you need to go because you’ve got a job to do, and you’re carrying this huge load because there’s steelwork or electronics and goodness knows what else in your pack ...”

However, there are certain benefits from working on conservation land that cannot be realised in normal recreation. For Sandy, work on conservation land for a conservation purpose is a rewarding activity, giving an opportunity to get to know the land intimately:

“Generally on the Monday morning when I get up at some ungodly hour of the morning to get ready for work, you’re actually looking forward to be at work, y’know, because it’s giving something back to you as well ... [Working on conservation land], it makes me feel good about working and about myself and all those sorts of things. And you get the chance to go to places and do things that you just wouldn’t do ordinarily ... because you’ve actually got a task to do there. One particular area I’ve worked in for years ... I’ve been going back [there], walking down the same old piece of it for several years... the things I’ve got back off that is to look at the changes there, to understand the subtleties of the place and the subtle changes, the subtle variations in weather and vegetation and the fauna as well. Y’know different seasons of the year and watching different things happen, and looking at a process over time, trees falling over, things growing up, y’know, so it repays you that way.”

Pastoral farmers are in a situation where their day to day existence involves being out in the high country environment. While the farmland is not protected, farmers still refer to their time in the outdoor environment with pride and appreciation. Life on the farm is at times a true form of ‘re-creation’, which replaces the need for the more traditional recreation that most people seek.

The following comments from three farmers in the Basin indicate how daily activities on a pastoral run compensate in some way for a lack of formal recreation:

“... I go tramping occasionally -- went up [Mt] Rolleston a while ago and things like that, only on occasion. I don’t need to, I live in the environment.” (Sam)

“... apart from [an occasional round of golf], this is pretty much our recreation, working up here. To work up here’s just about as good as the holidays ... I think walking’s one of the nice healthy forms of relaxation that a lot of people enjoy and we’re no different in that respect. Most of the time when we’re out walking we’re actually doing a job as well, chasing sheep around and feeding them or something.” (Alistair)

“ ... it’s pretty important to me, to work in the natural environment. That’s what I enjoy ... Yeah, it’s good to be out on the high shingle tops and the tussock and no-one else around. You don’t see anyone for a couple of days -- that’s what suits me. Not all the time, but it’s good to experience that quite a bit. I have the opportunity.” (Graeme)

The farming lifestyle does not leave much (if any) spare time for recreation. In contrast with Sandy from DOC, who separates work and leisure activities, the farmers incorporate what they feel as necessary recreation into their work activities. This is consistent with a broad integration of lifestyle and work by high country farmers.

This section has established that outdoor recreation in the mountain environment and protected lands, either separated from work activities or integrated with them, is a key part of the lives of people and families in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. The next section focuses on the local people's feeling for and identification with their surrounding environment.

5.4 Values and place attachment

This section draws on understanding of intrinsic values and the different ways that people can value an environment (described in Section 2.2.1), as well as the concept of place attachment (Section 2.3.1), to discuss the various expressions of 'connectedness to the land' made by study participants.

5.4.1 Meanings and values assigned to the local environment

Social context is crucial to both values and place attachment. Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) emphasised the importance of the socio-cultural context in which people describe and define a place. Values are also rooted in socialisation processes (Moore, 1995). Personal and collectively held values can therefore influence attachment to place, a conceptual link that will become evident as this section unfolds.

Participants often expressed broad forms of attachment to their home environment. The feelings that Tom has upon returning to his home area are typical:

"If I go to Christchurch for the day, y'know you rush around doing things and you feel absolutely knackered y'know, you get in the vehicle and drive home. Suddenly you get to the top of Porters Pass and you open the window of the vehicle and suddenly think God, y'know, you're back in your domain. I don't what it is."

Michael, a tourism operator from the Waimakariri Basin expressed how he saw the village community attitude as a whole:

"Arthur's Pass is a unique community ... quite a strong community of people who strongly appreciate the values that the National Park and conservation lands protect."

The shared values alluded to here represent cognitive (knowledge-based) forms of attachment. These have more in common with widely held environmental values, such as the importance of retaining biodiversity and conservation values, than with personal or emotional perceptions. Knowledge-based valuing is also evident in the following description given by Peter, from DOC in Arthur's Pass village:

“I think [Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin] is a really very special area, because it retains so much of its natural characteristics. Y’know, from the foothills right over to the West Coast, it’d be one of the most continuous tracts of native vegetation from coast to coast.”

Another type of knowledge-based belief is the bequest value (see Table 2.3, p. 17) that participants assign to the conservation land. Arthur’s Pass National Park, in particular, is appreciated in terms of bequest value because of its secure statutory basis. A couple who have lived for 13 years in Arthur’s Pass village valued the chance for their children to continue to enjoy the National Park in the future:

Val: “... it’s very important that [the National Park] is kept as protected as it can be ... We want to know that our kids can go up there in ten years time and, y’know, they can still do the walks that they did when they were kids and things should still be pretty much the same.”

Arthur: “Yeah, I’d agree with that. When their kids have kids, that piece of rock we looked at is gonna look just the same, or even look better, with a bit more protection. Which I think is very important. That’s why the National Park Act’s there, to preserve in posterity ...”

Locals place option values (see Table 2.3, p. 17) on the recreation potential of conservation lands in the area. Secure recreation provision is seen to result from conservation legislation and DOC’s management of the land. In the following case it contributed to Aaron’s purchase of a bach in the village:

“... that was one of the reasons that we bought [our bach in Arthur’s Pass], because we could always go hunting there ... that land could not be shut up to you. You could go out and walk in it at any time at all, it was a national park.”

The role that conservation land plays in New Zealanders’ identity is acknowledged by participants, as is the marketing and branding potential of conservation lands in general. These are important functions in terms of future tourism, not only to Arthur’s Pass but also at a national level. Gary, a tourism operator in Arthur’s Pass village expressed this type of instrumental view:

“... [the conservation land], it’s a natural facility, but it’s a very important one ... very much part of the New Zealand back country -- psyche, that wilderness, that back country, and we mustn’t just alter it and modify and chop it down ... Now that tourism is our number one industry, most people who come here, come here for the supposed clean-green image of New Zealand and the wild places that we have. And if we just slowly but surely eat away at those areas, we’ll destroy the very thing that is attractive about this country to other people.”

Social and temporal relationships also contribute to the way some participants are attached to the area. The skiing and socialising among holiday-makers in early village days influences much of the bach owners’ attachment to Arthur’s Pass. Margaret and Reginald, both bach owners, have fond memories of the social gatherings:

“... you always came up in those days by train. I mean there were very very few people who ever had cars. And so it was all trains and during the Christmas holidays a huge lot of Christchurch people came up just for the six weeks, who'd bought all these wee places [tunneller's cottages], and they always got in the first carriage (laughs), for some reason, all the “Arthur's Pass-ites” seemed to get in the first carriage right behind the engine. So that was an excitement on its own.” (Margaret)

“It was (laughs), an experience, and a bit of fun. Especially in the holidays, y'know families used to go up. And the fires'd be started and people started to mingle. There'd be about, y'know a dozen or fifteen families there. And the various children, of course, are lifelong friends.” (Reginald)

Bach owners' long-term association with Arthur's Pass contributes to their sense of place. Their affinity for the conservation land itself is strong, but so too are their memories of past events and local personalities. Similarly, long-term residents were more likely to mention the community as a point of attachment, as well as the natural environment. This makes intuitive sense and is consistent with Hummon's (1992) suggestion that longevity of residence increases sentimental ties. For shorter-term residents, place attachment is more likely to centre on the natural environment and associated outdoor recreation experiences.

For all participants, action-oriented connections to the local environment are evident in accounts of recreation activities (already discussed in the previous section). Those who originally purchased the tunnellers' cottages as holiday homes held the environment at Arthur's Pass in high esteem. Recreation in and admiration of the Park in the early days are firmly established in bach owners' memories:

“I was always keen to [buy a bach at Arthur's Pass village], because I did quite a lot of skiing at Temple Basin and was very keen, I loved the place. I did quite a lot of tramping there too, and I was always looking for the opportunity to buy a place.” (Terry, a bach owner)

Terry's explanation reflects those given by more recent residents, who were also attracted to Arthur's Pass because of their previous recreation experiences (see Section 5.2.1).

A caring attitude for the local environment is implicit in what many participants say. Senses of ownership and responsibility for the surrounding environment are evident in participants' comments. The following from Lee (from DOC) is a good example of this:

“... [the National Park], it's everyone's isn't it. But you like people to appreciate it. You do get very annoyed with people who abuse it. So you tend to regard it as your own I suppose.” (Lee)

Lee's comment is typical of many others', indicating a strong recognition among locals that the New Zealand public are legal owners of the conservation lands. However, participants frequently express possession on an individual level, perhaps because they feel

that, as residents, they have a greater stake in the local conservation lands than the average person does:

“... [Arthur’s Pass] is, sort of, in my blood. And I also have a very possessive feeling about the place and I cannot bear vandalism or -- or a lack of love for the place.” (Val)

Stewardship and community pride

Taking possessive attitudes one step further leads to active stewardship. The Arthur’s Pass village community takes steps to look after the village environment, which is outside the formal responsibility of DOC. There are two community groups active in this regard. The Arthur’s Pass Community Centre is made up of permanent residents, while the Arthur’s Pass Association is made up of bach owners. These community groups plant native trees around the village (part of an Arthur’s Pass Village Beautification by Planting Project), organise and carry out litter collections and, together with DOC, recently built a short walking track and viewing platform in forest next to the village. Individuals in the community also trap and poison possums, stoats and ferrets.

As with any sort of community action, the driving force for these initiatives comes, as Stefan indicates, from particular individuals who have strong beliefs:

“... there’s probably a handful of us, who have this commitment to the environment. I think you can say that we’re not ‘greenies’, but we’ve certainly got some respect for the environment. To me, I would say that it’s a privilege to live here and it’s probably just giving something back. It’s like all these native plants, we plant 300, 400 native trees ... every year in the village. Like re-greening the village, I suppose, in a way, with natives. It’s one of those things that’s become quite automatic really.”

Currently, there is nothing to stop residents and bach owners in Arthur’s Pass village from owning cats and dogs as the village lies outside the boundaries of the National Park. Some choose to have them as pets, although this causes some friction among neighbours, such as Chris and Stefan, who feel that having cats and dogs is environmentally irresponsible:

“... if kiwi survive, then that’s just a bonus all round, another species that makes it ... So people are trying to do their best to discourage dogs. If people are running around with dogs, everyone is quite vocal about speaking out and saying “do you know what a dog can do to a kiwi population?””

“My personal opinion is that I prefer to see no pets up here, apart from a goldfish and a canary, y’know. Cats and dogs are just not appropriate -- especially when I know there’s kiwi living just a hundred metres from my house.”

Local attitudes to kea³ shed further light on the stewardship role taken by the community. Although kea are sometimes destructive, participants respect their place in the local environment and do not appreciate them being threatened:

“...there was a kea on [a visitor’s] motorcycle, and so he picked up a little stone and kinda threw it at the kea. And I happened to come across ... and the woman from the café was there and the woman from the tea-rooms, we all just descended upon him and said “look, stop throwing stones at that kea!”, y’know, “if it pecks your bike well that’s too bad, that’s a protected bird, off you go!”... we like the kea. It doesn’t matter what damage they do your car, our cars all have the rubber ripped off them ... the kea were here first.” (Chris, village resident)

Participants showed their affinity for nature by sharing their knowledge and awareness of the surrounding environment. The effects on the landscape from natural events such as floods and earthquakes are recounted vividly, as are changes in vegetation processes and birdlife:

“... the landscape changed here in 1994 ... because of the earthquake (laughs). Lots of things changed ... Out in the back country it was a totally different national park when I walked out in it next time after that earthquake. Had a whole new park to explore. We had all new scree slopes and there were ridges missing off mountains and waterfalls had disappeared and we had new waterfalls. It was quite awesome, just to see the difference.” (Stefan, village resident)

“... you notice the changes, y’know, how much snow we get one year and how little the next year and those kind of natural things you really notice, when the ribbonwoods are flowering, things like that, when the buttercups are out. People will talk about that around the village.” (Andrea, village resident)

Sandy, from DOC, felt that the conservation lands in the area, particularly the National Park, gave the community identity and pride:

“I think [the conservation lands] actually give us identity, y’know ... [when you say that you’re from] Arthur’s Pass people say “oh you’re in that national park!”. Y’know, it actually says -- it’s a descriptor, y’know, that you’re in the middle of something special. Most people regard conservation land as the jewels in the crown, especially national parks and things like that y’know. It gives the community a sense of pride, hey this is theirs, and they look after part of it. Not the conservation land obviously, but the land around the village and stuff like that. Y’know [locals] participate in things to try and make it better, so I think it’s actually quite important to them.”

Community identity and pride is seen by Lucas (1984; see Table 2.1, p. 14) as a key outcome of a protected natural area. Sandy’s observation implies that local pride is as

³ Kea are alpine parrots, notable for their curious and comic behaviour. They are a protected species and an icon of the Arthur’s Pass area.

much in their village environment as in the surrounding conservation lands. Residents' and bach owners' affinity for the surrounding Park lands translates into a feeling that the village is worthy of similar care and attention. This link between natural environment experiences and enhanced environmental appreciation (suggested by McDonald & Schreyer, 1991; see Section 2.2.1) has already been mentioned on an individual basis. However, in this instance it appears to be operating at a community level.

Arthur's Pass locals exhibit, in words and actions, feelings of ownership and responsibility for the National Park lands. Their feelings of possession extend past the statutory public ownership of the Park, based instead on individual value for the natural landscape, flora and fauna, as well as historical and social connections with the village. The next section shifts focus away from Arthur's Pass village residents to the farmers in the Waimakariri Basin.

5.4.2 Farmers' connection to the land

The lifestyle of a high country farmer involves long hours of work with extended periods out on the land. Farmers in the Waimakariri Basin exist within a physical environment characterised by tussock grasslands and mountain topography. Mountains as high as 1800 metres above sea level (a.s.l.) occur throughout the Basin, while slightly higher mountain ranges of approximately 2000 metres a.s.l. (some of which are protected) form a rough geographical boundary. Tussock grassland occupies much of the farmed flats and lower mountain slopes, although pockets of native vegetation exist on all the high country stations. The upper slopes of the mountains are generally eroded and covered with scree, although some tops have retained tussock fields.

Most of the land farmed in the Waimakariri Basin is not conservation land. Nevertheless, description of how local farmers relate to the land around them is relevant to the study. It helps build a picture of how farmers perceive the environment, which in turn helps in understanding their relationship with the conservation land and DOC.

Farmers in the Waimakariri Basin have pride in their status as high country pastoralists, and consider themselves to have achieved something special in the farming sphere. The open landscape and spectacular scenery are common reasons why farming in the Waimakariri Basin is rated so highly, as shown in the following interview excerpt:

Graeme: “[Before the Waimakariri Basin] we had a hill country sheep and beef farm, and before that we had a dairy and beef farm ... Before that we had a small farm, dairying, pigs, cropping, strawberries (laughs). Each place was a step up.”

Researcher: “What was it that made this place ‘next on the list’ for you? What made you come here?”

Graeme: “It was high country, which had always been my aim. In my idea it’s the ultimate type of farming ... The most appealing way of life, best scenery. Probably the most enjoyable type -- with dairying at the bottom of the scale, high country would be at the top of the scale, that’s my view ... There’s plenty of space, plenty of peace and quiet. Pretty unique landscape.”

Another local farmer, Alistair, had similar sentiments, expressing how high country farming is viewed by low-land farmers:

“... [the Waimakariri Basin], it’s a wonderful environment to work in, just the landscape and the scenery. Y’know, for a fella like me [from the Canterbury Plains] to come and work up here, it’s a great privilege.”

Graeme and Alistair’s comments suggest that they were drawn to the Waimakariri Basin as much for the high country environment as for the farming enterprise.

Although farmers in the Waimakariri Basin inevitably have a utilitarian viewpoint of the land which they live and work in, they integrate this with a deep appreciation of various aspects of the high country and mountain environment surrounding them. Patrick expressed his admiration for the mountain landscape and weather that dominate the area:

“... the mountains, it doesn’t really matter where you are, they’re so massive that you’ve only gotta walk out of the house and you can see them. You can be working eight miles down the road and you can still see it, you’re just going to see a different angle of it. I like the spectacular mountains, I think they’re amazing you know. That class seven and eight country⁴ is just phenomenal I reckon, it’s beautiful land ... I like getting up high. I like being up on top of the mountains. On a nice day I love being up high and seeing the views, I like that, seeing the rivers, seeing the lakes when they’ve got nice reflections, nice sunny days. And I love those snow tussocks, I think they’re amazing things ...”

“You see some pretty amazing storms in the mountains that you don’t see when you’re in the plains ... for example a Norwest and a southerly wind meeting. To witness that is something else, it’s just phenomenal ... you see them meet and then they go straight up because there’s nowhere else for them to go ... I think the weather’s a pretty amazing thing to watch, I never tire of looking at the clouds and the weather changing, that’s pretty amazing.” (Patrick)

Another runholder, Sam, likened high country farmers’ links with the land to the more accepted cultural bond which Maori have:

⁴ The land use capability classes VII and VIII describe steep land, often found at higher altitudes

“... we are the occupiers of the land, we are the tangata whenua, the runholders [who] live up here [in the high country]. Because under Maori law, once the fires go out, the next people that come in and light their fires have got title to the land.”

While Sam’s statement would no doubt be argued by environmentalists and Maori alike, it does indicate a deep connection with the land and, perhaps most significantly, a strong and justifiable sense of belonging. Thus not only do pastoralists in the Basin appreciate the finer points of the environment around them on an individual level, they also feel that they belong on the land.

5.5 Lifestyles and local conditions

The influence of the conservation land on local’s lives must be considered in context. This section identifies local conditions that are not directly related to the conservation lands but, nevertheless, influence or have special meaning for the local people. Perceptions of isolation within the study area are discussed. Key influences on isolation include the mountain topography and weather, road and rail and modern telecommunications.

5.5.1 Road and rail

Like the telephone lines and the communication opportunities they bring, the road and rail through the study area act to reduce the local isolation. There are two perspectives on the road and rail. First, the historical significance of the road and rail is appreciated, as is the likely crucial role they will play in the future development of the area. The second, more critical perspective, is that the road and rail are intrusive and an environmental menace.

Local attitudes towards the road are reflected in their opinions about the road changes. Both Gary and Terry’s views show a degree of rationalisation regarding the positive and negative effects of road changes:

“In this case I think [the road improvements] are a good thing. I think we have an existing road there, it’s been there since what, the 1860’s, thereabouts, ... we have to have ways to drive from the East Coast to the West Coast. I mean this village, for a start, would die if the road was closed, y’know. It has to be maintained ... Obviously the environment is affected by the roading alterations. But y’know, it’s all got DOC consent, there are strict DOC controls. We have to be realistic and say “on balance, this is necessary, we have to widen this road.””

“I’ve sort of got mixed feelings about Whites Bridge when I see the devastation of the forest they had to ... the amount of trees they had to take out there in the approach to the new bridge, it’s pretty ghastly. But then on the other hand I never liked [how it used to be], I had one or two hairy instances coming down to Whites Bridge from the other side, pretty bad because it’s the shady side of the hill [and is] a sheet of ice on occasions.”

However, several village residents had concerns about the effects of increased traffic flows and associated noise. Locals perceive and appreciate an ‘alpine village’ ambience where they live. Some, like Robyn, are worried that continued road improvements and traffic increases will detract from this ambience:

“... with [the viaduct and road improvements] it probably won’t be quite so quiet. Because we’ve noticed even now with the viaduct being open [for six months], there’s a lot more trucks and trailers coming through here than what there used to be ... And the other thing is, [when they finish the new] Whites Bridge, it won’t be the nice little meander that it was. I feel that the viaduct, it was a great thing, but it’s nowhere near as nice as driving over the zigzag. That is gone. And if they say they are going to straighten [the road] between [Arthur’s Pass] and Craigieburn, and put it nearer the railway line, which they say is the next project, that’s sort of going to make it like an expressway isn’t it, rather than being an alpine road, an alpine pass.”

The appropriateness of having a road and rail inside a national park is also an issue. Although in some respects they led to the existence of the village and the National Park, and they support a burgeoning tourism industry, the road and rail are not always regarded positively. In certain parts of the village, the noise from the railway is contentious:

“I always found [the trains] very noisy, and the first house that I had was ... right by the railway yards. And the shunting always bothered me and kept me awake. I’m much happier now, living up here and I just hear the trains going in the tunnel. I found the noise of the trains very intrusive. And that was the only thing that I felt was a shame, that when you’re living in a national park, I thought it would be really quiet. And I thought “there’s something wrong, I’m not supposed to be sleeping with earplugs in a national park.”” (Chris)

Chris sets the same noise standards for the village as for the national park itself. From Chris’ viewpoint, the park boundary that surrounds the village should not remove from the village those characteristics which are typical of a national park.

If the road and rail create social impacts in Arthur’s Pass village, outside the village zone they are seen to cause widespread environmental damage. Paul points out a number of other reasons why he thinks the road and rail are not compatible with a national park:

“Oh, I think the State Highway’s probably one of the worse things that’s happened to Arthur’s Pass National Park. I mean, apart from getting people to and from it, it carves it in half doesn’t it. You get just a swathe of dirty nappies and tin cans and McDonalds wrappers. Or if it’s not that it’s stray dogs or cats that have been left behind or dumped, or weeds that accompany the grit that you have to put on the road, or people helping themselves to plants to take home, or fires caused by the railway and by wrecked cars and accidents. So I would be more than happy if the road were uprooted and turned into a gravel track, and the railway line.”

Waimakariri Basin farmers also have concerns about the road and rail crossing their lands. Rubbish and fires are main concerns, but there are also problems and liabilities associated with stock wandering onto the railway and moving stock across the highway.

Overall, locals are faced with a trade-off situation regarding the road and rail. On the one hand, the transport arteries are acknowledged as part of the local history and culture and as important parts of the local economy. On the other hand, they detract from the 'sleepy town' atmosphere and compromise the local environment and national park values.

5.5.2 Perceptions of isolation

The study area is spatially separated from the more populated West Coast and Canterbury regions - 100 kilometres from Greymouth and 150 kilometres from Christchurch. Isolation has been a feature of the area's social history, however improvements to roads and automobiles have reduced travel times and costs. In 1866, a coach trip from Christchurch to the West Coast took three days and cost the equivalent of three weeks work for a labouring man (Dennis, 1986). In a modern car, the same journey can be made in little more than three hours, with a fuel cost equivalent to two or three hours paid employment.

Recollections from long-term residents like Tom indicate that the sense of isolation has decreased as travel to and from Arthur's Pass has become easier:

"... the isolation's disappeared a wee bit as the road's got better. I mean, at one time the road used to be shingle. When I first came it was shingle from Arthur's Pass all the way to Springfield, just shingle. The tarseal used to start at the Springfield township. And a lot of times you would end up getting a puncture for some reason or other - shingle road, corrugations, goodness knows what. But now if I need to go to Christchurch, I mean, I don't even check my spare tyre now in our vehicle ... you just get in, start it up and drive to Christchurch. The vehicles are a lot better as well."

For frequent travellers to Arthur's Pass, the adventure has gone from the journey. Reginald, a bach owner, recalls how travelling to Arthur's Pass was a memorable part of any trip to the bach:

"... [going to Arthur's Pass] used to be more of an adventure in the early days, before [the road] was sealed and before they had these bridges ... and the cars were older. You often had to ford, for instance Halpins was a notorious place to get stuck, [but now] a lot of the steep hills have been levelled. It was (laughs), an experience, and a bit of fun."

The degree of isolation felt in Arthur's Pass today varies among participants. Some feel the long distance to service centres and cities is a disadvantage. In contrast, others appreciate the nearness of the built-up areas, claiming that urban activities can be (in some

cases even need to be) part of the Arthur's Pass lifestyle. The following comments indicate various perceptions of isolation:

"... you know that if you're going to have a burst appendix or something and it's the middle of the winter you're gonna be taken out of here by helicopter. That sort of thing y'know. That's where it's isolated." (Robyn)

"I've missed out on lots of cultural things like concerts, orchestras, opera. I mean you could go down [to Christchurch] to see them. But it's all a bit of an effort, a hundred miles away." (Cathy)

"An advantage of Arthur's Pass is that you're only an hour and a half away from Christchurch. So it's like living in the wilderness, but you're really very close to the South Island's biggest city. So you've almost got the best of both worlds ... you can have all this wild nature, plus, you're not too isolated from the civilised things of the cities." (Harry)

"... in the winter time we go to [an event in Christchurch]... we go in three times a week ... It's our one big outlet in the winter. Those are the sorts of things I think you've got to do when you live in Arthur's Pass ... you've got to get a bit of retail therapy in, and see a movie and go to the library, and have a look through [the bookstore] at all the books that are for sale, anything that's interesting for you, y'know what I mean." (Sarah)

"... we like to go into Christchurch or Nelson and stay a few days and just, y'know, go to a few nice cafés and go out to a movie and go out to a restaurant, do things that you can't do in Arthur's Pass. So you take advantage of big city culture ..." (Gary)

For most participants, the isolation is not seen as a serious disadvantage. It is mainly referred to either as just an inconvenience or even in positive terms. Chris and Andrea's feelings on isolation are typical:

"You're not very far [away], Greymouth is an hour, an hour and a quarter away, so really ... it's kind of a nice isolation."

"... the isolation is very apparent to me personally. It's something that attracts me to the area."

In addition to looking outside the home area for entertainment or services, participants often describe themselves and others in the community as being self-sufficient. The ability to entertain oneself, deal with problems as they arise and organise stores of provisions and firewood is seen as necessary for a comfortable existence in the isolation and extreme weather conditions. Tom and Robyn illustrate the need for both practical and social self-sufficiency:

"... when the chips are down you soon sort out the ones who are not self sufficient. If there's a flood or the road goes out or the power goes off, y'know, there's a few people that just [say] "what'll I do now?" But most people here get firewood for themselves and things like that, y'know. So to do that you need to have a chainsaw. To have a chainsaw you need to know how put a chain on and how to mix the fuel and that sort of thing. So you find that most people are fairly self-sufficient."

“ ... one criteria you’ve got to have living in Arthur’s Pass, is be prepared to ..., you don’t hate your own company, you’ve got to like your own company ... [and you must] stand up for yourself, I mean, you’ve got to be a survivor.”

These sorts of skills are seen to make life more bearable. The distance from service and urban centres as well as the prevailing mountain weather (high rainfall and occasional extreme temperatures) mean that, over time, the resident population as a whole tends to become self-sufficient - akin to a modern version of the pioneer attitude that the early residents had. Those uncomfortable with such hardships either move away quickly or do not move in at all, a point often made when participants describe their community. Jobes (1993) observed a similar process occurring in towns and communities on national park boundaries in the USA, where romanticists and park employees inevitably moved away, leaving a few permanent and stationary residents to form the skeleton of the community.

Tourists provide another social dimension to the area. Tourism operators benefit from the interaction they have with the tourists. Those who work in the accommodation sector appreciate the type of tourist that Arthur’s Pass attracts. Stefan from Arthur’s Pass and Brent, a tourism operator in the Waimakariri Basin, are among those gaining benefit from interaction with visitors:

“I used to work in the backpackers [in the village]. And that was great because you got to speak to innumerable different types of people all the time, and you need that sort of interaction. That’s something that the village, where it is, can’t give you.”

“ ... I get constant people contact, so I don’t miss out on social aspects at all because I’m are constantly in touch with people from all over the world, all walks of life.”

Technology has improved the physical access to Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. It has also brought the area closer to the rest of the world through telecommunications. The communication revolution and internet have dramatically changed the isolation in the area, particularly for those who choose to go on-line. The Arthur’s Pass village has the distinction of having the highest internet connection rate per-capita in New Zealand (26%). However, a constraint to internet and telecommunications is the limited number of telephone lines available to the area, widely criticised within the community for being inadequate.

As well as bringing outside information into the community, the internet allows Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin to present itself to the world. Local tourism businesses use the internet to advertise, while homepages exist both for the village as a whole and for

the school. E-mail communication goes a long way towards reducing perceived isolation among residents. One participant is undertaking university study via the internet:

“I can be in regular contact with colleagues at university. I can access the University Library online. Like, the books are here the next day! It’s a small bloody world really.”

5.5.3 Weather, topography and fault-lines

Mountain elements play a big role in the lives of people in Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Mountains surround the living spaces of the local people, particularly in Arthur’s Pass village which lies in the narrow Bealey Valley. The mountains bring a distinctive climate gradient to the area, with Arthur’s Pass village being cooler and wetter than the Waimakariri Basin (see Section 4.3). In addition, the alpine fault from which the mountains have grown continues to be active and earthquakes are a real threat to the community. A 1994 earthquake caused widespread damage to the village.

Participants refer to the weather as a defining part of the area and of themselves. As alluded to in the above discussion of isolation, residents need to be able to accept or cope with the weather conditions. Tom and Chris are among those who have come to appreciate the weather conditions and enjoy its extremes and changes:

“I love the snow. Sometimes you think things are a bit grim, but somehow or other it’s, sort of, like a bit of a challenge. And I guess those big snowfalls we had about five years ago or so, y’know, it was really absolutely brilliant because you had about a metre of snow right around the house here, y’know, and the woodshed’s always full of wood, y’know, and the log burner was going. I mean to say, you just felt absolutely at peace with the world ... y’know, when you can’t do anything else, it’s just absolutely brilliant.”

“... when you get all that rain, 240 mm in a day, the tourists around saying “oh isn’t the rain awful.” Well, all the residents here are running up to get a good view of the Bealey, or going down to the Waimak to see how high it is on the bridge and trying to figure out the best vantage point - saying how great it is.”

Frank and Cathy were more disparaging in their descriptions of the weather, even though both have lived in the village for more than ten years:

“... it’s a closed valley, it’s quite narrow, it can be frustrating in the wintertime when the sun hits your house at 10:30 in the morning (laugh) and things are sort of frozen solid. Y’know the weather is pretty crap, in terms of when the northerly or the Norwester comes through.”

“I find it very claustrophobic. Coming from the Canterbury plains to living in that tight little valley. My husband doesn’t, I don’t think that men do. It is like going into a little dark hole ... when you get to Klondyke corner, and you know that as you get closer the mist is going to come and then the rain. Those are the things that get me.”

Earthquakes are another example of how the natural elements can play a big role in local people's lives. The 1994 earthquake is referred to as being, at best, an unpleasant experience. However, descriptions of the aftermath again highlight the ability of individuals and the community to cope with difficulty. In fact, the earthquake brought the community together, as the following excerpts from conversations with Arthur and Val, and with Chris show:

Arthur: "It was actually quite surprising [after the earthquake], there was just no panic, nothing at all. Everyone was just [saying] "it's happened, let's get on with life.'""

Researcher: "What about when it did happen?"

Val: "That was scary, yeah (laughs). That wasn't fun. Once again, it brought the community together, because everyone was concerned if everyone else was OK, and y'know, if you [needed] something then somebody else would have it."

"... it did cross my mind, that we could have Avalanche Peak falling on top of us. But yeah, it was quite exciting. We had a huge party after that earthquake. And with all the aftershocks it became just part of our life." (Chris)

The alpine conditions in Arthur's Pass are a source of appreciation for locals, although the 'closed in' nature of the village and the high rainfall are frustrating for some. The extreme natural elements define the people who live in Arthur's Pass village. Earthquakes are a continual threat and many villagers have unpleasant memories of the 1994 'shake'. However the way that the village rallied together to help itself at that time is another example of adapting to nature's terms, this time at a community level.

5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has explored how the local environment and conditions in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin influence the lifestyles of study participants. In the context of this study, the presence of conservation lands and associated recreational opportunities are key aspects of locals' lifestyles. The effect of other local conditions on lifestyle, such as the area's relative isolation, alpine environment and road and rail arteries has been examined.

The large areas of conservation land in and around Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are a central influence on the lives of local people. They attract a population who appreciate the scenic, bio-physical, productive, spiritual and recreational values of the surrounding environment. Most have made a deliberate choice to live in the area.

Mountain recreation activities, such as walking, tramping, climbing, hunting and skiing play key roles in the lifestyles of many Arthur's Pass village residents and bach owners. For some, recreation on conservation land was the main reason for their moving to Arthur's Pass.

Locals perceive a range of outcomes from the recreation activities themselves. Family-related benefits include enhanced family cohesion, children's education and confidence. Personal benefits include health benefits, escape, relaxation and spiritual renewal. Recreational attachment arises from the long term use of the land for recreation (sometimes more than 50 years), the ease of access, the security of access and the social relationships that have been a part of recreational activity in Arthur's Pass for many participants.

Locals are attached to the conservation lands in many ways. They recognise the conservation values, future values and the tourism potential of the conservation lands. They also express possessive feelings towards the conservation lands, not only in terms of the legal public ownership of the lands, but also individual possession. Stewardship also arises, both at the community and individual levels.

Farmers are attached to the high country environment they live and work in. They feel that high country farming is a definitive style of farming because of the environment it occurs in. As well as a deep appreciation of the mountain landscapes and weather patterns, farmers feel that they belong on the land.

Other notable conditions in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin include the isolation, road and rail arteries and extreme weather. Isolation in Arthur's Pass has reduced as travel and telecommunications technology have brought the world closer. However, isolation is a subjective concept and there are still people in Arthur's Pass who feel isolated.

Road and rail arteries in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are acknowledged by locals as part of the local history and culture and as important parts of the local economy. On the other hand, for some they detract from the 'sleepy town' atmosphere and compromise the local environment and national park values.

Weather and other environmental conditions affect the lives of Arthur's Pass people. The wet and cold weather in the area is appreciated by many locals, despite the frustrations that they bring at times. The weather is seen to define Arthur's Pass and the people who live there. Earthquakes are acknowledged as a threat, although recent 'shakes' have brought the community closer together. To cope with the weather uncertainties and the relative remoteness, locals claim that both practical and social self sufficiency are required for a comfortable existence in Arthur's Pass.

Chapter 6 - Tourism and conservation lands

6.1 Introduction

Tourism is a major influence on the lives of local people in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. This chapter will clarify the significance of the conservation lands in local tourism, as well as the roles played by the transport arteries and the Maori and pastoral culture. Tourism emerges as a central avenue in the relationship between local people and the conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin.

The chapter begins by describing characteristics of tourism in the study area, before elaborating on the role of conservation lands in tourism development. It is argued that the location of Arthur's Pass village within Arthur's Pass National Park is a limiting factor for tourism development. The tourism focus is on 'do-it-yourself' activities and budget accommodation. In contrast, Waimakariri Basin tourism has developed with a wider scope, incorporating 'up-market' attractions and organised activities with budget accommodation.

Local perspectives on tourism are then examined, showing that local people, particularly in Arthur's Pass village, tend to balance any negative feelings about tourism-induced change with the knowledge that tourism is the livelihood of the community. Conflict between tourists and locals is minimised because both groups are attracted to and appreciate the natural surroundings.

6.2 Overview of tourism in the study area

Local tourism enterprise first appeared in the Arthur's Pass area in 1881, when visitors were guided from the Bealey Hotel up the White River to view glaciers (Logan, 1987). The glaciers have receded since then, but the natural features of the area remain as the central attraction for tourism today. The local tourism industry has grown in stature, emerging as the backbone of the Arthur's Pass village economy and challenging pastoralism for that position in the Waimakariri Basin. As the Bealey Hotel publican realised in 1881, and as many in the study area realise today, there is a living to be made in servicing the needs and wants of visitors attracted to the natural features of the area.

For the study area as a whole, conservation lands and the road and rail links are the two central components of tourism. The conservation component involves visitors attracted to

conservation lands for recreation or scenic appreciation. The road and rail lines facilitate this use of the conservation lands, as well as bringing a steady flow of traffic passing through - the transitory component. Transit tourism (based on servicing the needs of traffic passing through) occurs mainly in Arthur's Pass village, although the Bealey Hotel and Flock Hill Lodge in the Waimakariri Basin also cater to passing travellers.

State Highway 73 also connects local tourism businesses with service-providers such as courier companies, freight deliveries and laundry trucks. These services would not be so readily available if Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin were off the main East-West commerce route.

The nature of tourism in each of the two communities in this study - Arthur's Pass village and the Waimakariri Basin community, will now be described.

6.2.1 Arthur's Pass village tourism

The conservation component of Arthur's Pass village tourism is dominated by Arthur's Pass National Park, which totally encloses the village. Village tourism revolves around Park users and their interactions with local people and local tourism operators.

Actual Park visitor numbers are difficult to estimate because of the high number of entry points¹. However, records of visitors to the DOC Visitor Centre in Arthur's Pass village show a steady increase over the last 20 years, with more than 110,000 in the year to June 2000 (see Figure 6.1, p. 109). The summer months of November to April have the highest monthly visitor levels, up to three times higher than during winter months.

A study by Espiner (1995) showed that visitors to Arthur's Pass National Park are generally young, male, well-educated, and from professional or technical occupational backgrounds. Almost half are international visitors, while the nearby urban centre of Christchurch is the single most common place of origin. More than two-thirds (70%) of Park users arrive by private vehicles (Espiner, 1995). An earlier study by Simmons (1980) identified intentions and expectations of six different types of Park visitor. These are shown below in Table 6.1.

¹ Entry to Arthur's Pass National Park is possible at several track-heads alongside Mt White Road and State Highway 73, between Mount White Station and Otira.

Table 6.1: Arthur's Pass National Park visitor typology

Visitor group	Description
1. Passers-through	These form the largest group of visitors and are those using the road and rail links that bisect the Park. Many are from overseas or the North Island. Their visit is one stop on a longer touring holiday.
2. People staying in the village	This group uses the village as a base for making short visits into the Park, staying either in baches or public accommodation. A high number of those who use public accommodation are from overseas.
3. Day-trippers	These visitors make a variety of active and passive uses of the fringe areas of the Park. Many are from Christchurch, but for a significant number the Park is a side trip to a longer touring holiday.
4. Campers	These groups camp near public shelters which have easy access from roads. They include family groups with children old enough to make day trips and explore the immediate area around the camp.
5. Trampers, hunters and climbers	This group may include young people using the easier tramping tracks and huts. For many, the challenge is to reach more remote and demanding areas where self-reliance is required.
6. Skiers	The main focus for this group is the Temple Basin skifield. Cross-country and ski mountaineering occur in other areas of the Park.

Source: Simmons, 1980

In the context of this study, Simmons' "Passers-through" visitor group makes up the transitory component of the local tourism industry. They are not considered to be Park users as such. For this, the largest proportion of visitors, Arthur's Pass village is mainly a service point, providing fuel, food and beverages and toilet facilities. Simmons' other five visitor groups (numbers 2-6) are associated with the conservation component of the local tourism industry. For many in these groups, the village acts as a gateway to Arthur's Pass National Park.

Simmons' (1980) typology remains accurate today, although there have been changes to the Arthur's Pass tourism environment in the intervening years. Most notable among the changes is the increase in visitor numbers. Several participants in the current study observed that the number of people passing through and staying in Arthur's Pass has been increasing. This is confirmed by data illustrated in Figure 6.1², which show that between 1991 and 1999 there was a 32 per cent increase in the number of visitors to the DOC

² Traffic flows were generated from Annual Traffic Count Summaries for Arthur's Pass, obtained from Transit New Zealand. Visitor Centre patronage figures were obtained from DOC in Arthur's Pass.

Visitor Centre in Arthur's Pass village and a 37 per cent increase in the number of vehicles travelling through Arthur's Pass village.

The train service, which in the 1980s was a convenient and affordable method of transport for weekend Park users from nearby urban centres, has developed a strong tourist focus, becoming more expensive and no longer suitable for trampers (Espiner, 1995). Increased participation in mountain races in the Park, such as "The Coast to Coast" and "The Avalanche Peak Challenge", have resulted in training and competition becoming more prevalent forms of back-country use.

Finally, the rising status of snowboarding in the 1990s has resulted in increased popularity of Temple Basin skifield. Study participants refer to increased numbers of snowboarders in the village during wintertime, either staying in the budget accommodation or renting out private baches. There has also been an expansion of organised summer activities at Temple Basin (see Section 7.3.1).

6.2.2 Waimakariri Basin tourism

Tourism in the Waimakariri Basin does not occur independently from tourism in Arthur's Pass village. This is mainly due to the close proximity of the two areas and the fact that both are traversed by State Highway 73 and the Midland Railway Line. Arthur's Pass National Park, the cornerstone of village tourism, provides a spectacular backdrop for the Waimakariri Basin as well as being an important marketing point for tourism operations there.

Within and surrounding the Waimakariri Basin are a multitude of protected areas administered by the Department of Conservation. These conservation lands play a major role in attracting visitors to the area, and form the basis for tourism in the Waimakariri Basin. Activities include: day walks and mountain biking in Craigieburn Forest Park; skiing on the four Craigieburn Range skifields; fishing in lakes Pearson, Sarah, Grasmere and Lyndon and in the Waimakariri and Poulter rivers; and boating on lakes Lyndon and Pearson. Rock climbing at Castle Hill Conservation Area and caving at Cave Stream

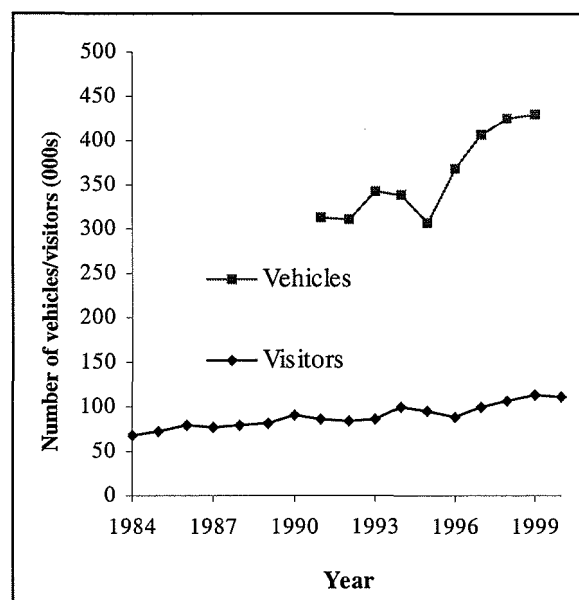


Figure 6.1: Growth in Arthur's Pass traffic and Visitor Centre patronage

Scenic Reserve are popular activities. DOC is currently offering free cultural tours to visitors to the Castle Hill Conservation Area.

Local landowners and leaseholders provide most of the accommodation in the Basin; four of the six high country stations offer some form of lodging (see Table 4.1, p. 55). Each caters to a different section of the tourist market. The two most highly priced can be classed as ‘top-end’ tourism operations, providing comfortable facilities and guided walks and activities on the farm property or nearby conservation lands. Castle Hill village offers a “Bed & Breakfast” as well as guided skiing, climbing, abseiling and caving trips.

The tourism industry in the Basin enjoys the same advantages as Arthur’s Pass village from the presence of State Highway 73 and the Midland Line. Two of the accommodation providers collect and drop off clients from the TranzAlpine Express when it stops at the Mt White Bridge. Another caters to tourist groups on organised train/jetboat/4WD day-trips from Christchurch.

Despite a lack of data on visitor numbers in the Waimakariri Basin, a number of indicators point to increased visitation: the creation of two high country lodges within the last five years, increased use of State Highway 73 (shown in Figure 6.1, p. 109), and the continued popularity of the TranzAlpine Express. Also, study participants report increased use of conservation areas in the Waimakariri Basin, most notably the Castle Hill Conservation Area and Cave Stream Scenic Reserve.

Relative contributions of the conservation lands and the transit links to tourism in the study area are uncertain. However, it is clear that the presence of conservation land plays an important role in tourism in Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. The next section looks more closely at aspects of this role.

6.3 The role of conservation lands in local tourism

Conservation lands are central to tourism in the study area. This is more clearly seen in Arthur’s Pass village than in the Waimakariri Basin, where farming activities and Maori culture are increasingly being used to complement the natural conservation values and high country scenery as attractions for tourists.

In Arthur’s Pass village, the range of activities offered, or the ‘attraction’, is determined by the National Park. Back country areas of the Park offer active uses such as tramping, climbing and skiing. Front-country areas, the most heavily used, offer a range of more passive short walks and day trips, as well as a Visitor Centre and museum in Arthur’s Pass village.

As a result of this range of activities, Arthur's Pass National Park attracts a particular segment of the tourism market, as expressed by Gary, a village tourism operator:

“... realistically, [Arthur's Pass] is very suitable for backpackers, people who are tramping and using the backcountry, or using [the village] as a base and doing some day-walks. Most of the day-walks are not all that suitable to many people.”

Espiner (1995) identified the following key motivations for Park visitors such as those Gary refers to: ‘being close to nature’, ‘exploring new areas’ and ‘escaping from civilisation’. Espiner (1995) found that motivations such as ‘excitement’, ‘being with friends’, and ‘meeting new people’ were less important for Arthur's Pass National Park visitors. Tourists who might rate highly the latter set of motivations are generally not attracted to Arthur's Pass village.

The natural environment characteristics of Arthur's Pass attract independent and outdoor-loving tourists, who do not demand comforts and organised activities. Budget accommodation in Arthur's Pass village caters to this demand. Gary, who manages a budget accommodation operation in the village, described local tourism in the following way:

“... there's no commercialism here [in Arthur's Pass], there's no organised activities. You can't spend your money here on anything, for someone to take you on a jet boat ride or on a bungy jump, parapent, tandem skydive, horse-trekking, nothing, and most people come here for that reason. They've just spent \$100 at Kaikoura on a whale-watch or \$120 at Queenstown on a bungy jump, and those things are fine, there's a place for everything. And Arthur's Pass is one of those places like Okarito or Tekapo, other places, where there really are no activities that you can spend your money on. And people just come here just to relax, and do some day walks, and it's all low-impact, low cost.”

The lack of organised activities in the village, as well as an apparent lack of demand for such activities from current visitors, means that tourism development in Arthur's Pass has been modest and ‘low key’, without the obvious commercial element characteristic of many natural-resource-based tourism towns.

Expansion of Arthur's Pass village is restricted by the presence of Arthur's Pass National Park. The limited size and number of available commercially-zoned sections also restrict commercial development in the village. These two factors contribute to the low-key form of tourism development in Arthur's Pass village.

Frank and Gary, both with interests in existing tourism operations, surmise the potential for tourism development in the village:

“... we’re completely surrounded by the National Park, so expansion is just about not possible ... So it’s not like all of a sudden [Arthur’s Pass village] could [start] to expand in an uncontrolled way. That can’t happen here. I mean, there’s at any given time a few sections of land for sale, basically individual residential sections. Some of the businesses change hands from time to time, but they’re restricted in what they can do just by virtue of the size limit. So even if we did have a million visitors a year here, they wouldn’t be able to stay [overnight].” (Frank)

“There’s [a commercially zoned section] between the tea-rooms and the backpackers. Now in theory, another commercial premises could go up there. And there’s an empty bit of land next to the hostel that’s zoned commercial as well. Y’know somebody might build a hire shop or a mountain guiding operation. So it’s possible, but I don’t think there’s enough of a tourism base yet to justify anything else, just at the moment.” (Gary)

This second comment, from Gary, suggests that the current level of tourism development in Arthur’s Pass is sufficient to cope with demand. Even in locations where a commercial development is possible, tourism operations are not starting up.

The Waimakariri Basin is less reliant on conservation lands as a tourism attraction than Arthur’s Pass village. The area is marketed not only for the scenery and recreation opportunities in its conservation lands and the nearby Arthur’s Pass National Park, but also for its own high country scenery, historical mines and stagecoach routes, and the local tradition of pastoral farming. There are more options for organised activities in the Basin, meaning that visitors do not require as much self-reliance in the outdoors as Arthur’s Pass visitors do. The greater level of visitor comfort and convenience provided by the two new accommodation operators also sets the Basin apart from Arthur’s Pass village, a point made by Val, who is employed in the Waimakariri Basin tourism industry:

“... [the Waimakariri Basin] is giving people a wider range of types of accommodation. From staying in your club hut, right up to Grasmere [Lodge], top end of the scale. So, from that point of view, it’s good because the likes of Grasmere and Wilderness Lodge[s] are bringing in people that probably wouldn’t come to the area otherwise, because previously the type of accommodation [available] was not the sort that they would stay in. So, those businesses are probably drawing more people to the area.”

Commercial development in the Waimakariri Basin does not have the same restrictions imposed by the National Park boundary. Opportunities for commercial developments exist, and have been taken. Large scale developments such as the Bealey Hotel and the Wilderness and Grasmere Lodges have been built on privately owned land, after resource consents were obtained from the Selwyn District Council.

6.4 Local views of tourism

This section considers the perceptions of Arthur's Pass locals about tourism in their community. It looks, in particular, at the different ways that constraints to tourism in the village are perceived and at relationships between locals and tourists.

Tourism is recognised as the "lifeblood" of the Arthur's Pass village community. As Tom, a long-term village resident, points out, tourism provides locals directly and indirectly with jobs and business opportunities:

"... nearly everyone [in Arthur's Pass] does make a living directly from tourism. There are just a few who make a living indirectly, like the teacher and the policeman etc. But most people, y'know the tea-rooms and the backpackers, the YHA [Youth Hostel], the café, the restaurant, the motel, the hotel, [are all there] because of tourism."

The omission of the Department of Conservation from Tom's list indicates a perception that DOC is not benefiting from tourism to the extent that the rest of the village does.

The constraint to village development by its location in Arthur's Pass National Park is mainly seen in a positive way by locals, who often compare their home town favourably with other towns (such as Queenstown, Hanmer, Franz Josef and Akaroa) that have expanded under the influence of tourism. Lee and Sandy, both DOC staff, convey this attitude:

"I think we're just very very lucky that there's not a lot of land here, otherwise it could get completely out of hand ... It could end up like Hanmer Springs or somewhere like that where it's just motels and hotels."

"I think [the constraint to development] is a positive, absolutely ... that it's not gonna expand out of hand ... people know that, essentially, it's not gonna turn into suburbs, it's not gonna turn into a Moana or whatever, y'know down at Lake Brunner, where it suddenly becomes a suburb."

However, there is a feeling among some village residents that realignment of the main road through the village and controlled expansion and development of residential sections would have positive spin-offs for the village:

"We're completely bounded by the National Park. And I think that it could actually be extended and the village could be made bigger. There is definitely suitable land here for more houses, which is locked up and won't become available. Umm, not very much but a little bit, maybe another 50 houses, which would contribute to the village, as a whole." (Andrea)

Participants did not express anything that could be interpreted as dissatisfaction or antagonism towards tourists. One reason for the apparent lack of antagonism between locals and tourists in Arthur's Pass is that each group has a similar appreciation of the

surrounding environment. Villagers often have empathy with the visitors to the Park and less time for visitors with alternative motivations:

“I think that only a small proportion of the overall tourists that come to New Zealand come to a place like Arthur’s Pass. And by and large, the ones that do, they’ve maybe got a bit more time to spend in the country because Arthur’s isn’t a main tourist destination and sometimes they’re quite likely to have a bit more *nous*, a bit more interest in the land ... I really enjoy, by and large, the type of [visitor], of person, if you can say that, who stays in Arthur’s Pass. As opposed to say, Queenstown or Auckland, where you get much greater mass tourism and more pressure.”

Disparity between hosts and guests’ perceptions of the local environment can contribute to a negative host-guest relationship (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). However, the local characteristics that direct tourism in Arthur’s Pass towards being low-key and non-commercial, are the same characteristics that attracted current residents and bach owners to the village. In terms of environmental values at least, there is little disparity between locals and tourists.

Negative attitudes towards tourism only begin to arise when the local attributes are affected, such as when the quiet atmosphere is harmed by sporadic influxes of people. Gerald, a bach owner, was one of the few who expressed any disapproval of tourists in the village:

“I do get a bit pissed off when I go down for a paper and I’ve got to queue up with 200 bloody loopies to pay over 80c to get [the newspaper].”

Gerald’s attitude to tourists is indicative of a general feeling among bach owners that change in the village should be kept to a minimum. There are three issues likely to contribute to this sentiment. First, as noted above, bachowners’ attachment to Arthur’s Pass includes a greater element of historical connection than many residents’ attachment. Second, Arthur’s Pass is a place to escape to for many bachowners, while Arthur’s Pass residents seeking escape often turn to the conservation lands. Any form of change in the village (tourist crowding in this instance) is therefore more likely to compromise bachowners’ goals than those of residents. Third, bach owners are not reliant on the local tourism industry for a livelihood, unlike most residents who believe that the presence of tourists is necessary for their continued existence in the village.

Residents often accept small perceived negative effects of tourism because of its positive influence on the community. Lance's comment typifies this form of rationalisation:

"This community wouldn't exist if it weren't for tourism. Every business that's here is tourism related. And to work here you pretty much have to be involved in some kind of tourism ... so it's a double edged sword, they're you're lifesblood and yet sometimes you think "oh, there's an awful lot of tourists around." But it's all tied together, it's all part-and-parcel."

Local defiance towards scenic flights in the National Park, despite the commercial possibilities they may bring, indicates a willingness to retain a 'low key' tourism atmosphere. DOC discourages the use of aircraft for sightseeing in the Park, based largely on the fact that scenic flights to alpine areas are readily available at other popular visitor sites in the South Island (DOC, 1995a). Stefan echoes this policy in his comment below, emphasising that the absence of commercial scenic flights and resulting quiet skies benefit local tourism by making the area unique:

"Arthur's Pass [National Park] is still different to other national parks. One, that we don't have aircraft flying over all the time. And that's a huge benefit to this park, it's actually one comment you get from most overseas visitors. After they've been to the West Coast and to Mt Cook it's overwhelming the amount of air traffic, whereas Arthur's Pass y'know, the only traffic you get here is either official or illegal. Everybody in the village would fight, and we have in the past actually, 'tooth and nail', about stopping aircraft. I know the village would. You can look at [aircraft] as a benefit to tourism, but I think to be different, you [need to] have something unique about this park. The uniqueness is [that] you're not being annoyed by aircraft all the time. If I describe the Park to people, I describe it as quite raw and undeveloped, that's how I would describe it. And I would prefer it to stay that way as well because that's something unique that this park offers."

However, a feeling exists among some tourism operators that Arthur's Pass needs a better local tourism product to strengthen business. Robyn, for example, acknowledges that aircraft are not viable in Arthur's Pass, but would still like to see Arthur's Pass village become a destination in some way, rather than a transit town:

"I would hate to see [Arthur's Pass] ever become like Franz Josef, in the fact that I don't want all the helicopters flying around ... But, at the same time I think it could do with a bit more -- we need it to be a place to come to, not a place to pass through. And to do that we need -- a few more interests here, but what they are I wouldn't know. Very difficult when you've got national park all around you."

Robyn sees the National Park as a constraint to the creation of a broader interest or appeal for the area.

Overall, the negative effects of tourism did not arise as major issues, although roadside litter was an area of concern. Village residents regularly organise clean-ups through the village to remove litter. Crowding issues only arise spasmodically, when there are

commercial events such as the “Coast to Coast” endurance race. Locals seem to rationalise the effects of crowding because there are only three or four days per year when there are large crowds in the village.

6.5 Chapter summary and discussion

Tourism is an important part of the relationship between local people and the conservation lands in Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Together with the road and rail connections, conservation lands are the basis of tourism in the study area. They influence tourism differently in Arthur’s Pass village and the Waimakariri Basin.

The presence of Arthur’s Pass National Park encourages a low-key and low-commercial form of tourism in Arthur’s Pass village. The Park’s proximity to the village prohibits expansion and limits commercial development. Also, the rugged and hostile character of the Park restricts the range of visitors who will stay in the village. Those unwilling to confront longer walks in the Park’s back country must settle for shorter, graded walks closer to the highway or a visit to the Visitor Centre. However, such passive activities seldom generate overnight stays in the village itself.

In the Waimakariri Basin, the conservation lands have a less direct role in tourism, operating in tandem with a high-country farming environment to attract a larger cross-section of visitors than Arthur’s Pass does. Restrictions on commercial development are less severe and tourism development is able to cater to a higher end of the tourism market.

The forms of tourism in the study area are generally consistent with the goals and lifestyle aspirations of the people who live there. Tourism is beneficial to most. For Arthur’s Pass locals, tourism is the foundation of the local economy, providing employment and a degree of community stability.

Locals are generally quite content with the low-commercialism and restrained form of tourism that exists in Arthur’s Pass village. Visitor numbers greatly exceed the size of the local population in Arthur’s Pass, a condition that can potentially lead to a negative local-tourist relationship (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). However, this disparity does not translate into excessive tourist pressure on local services and facilities, mainly because the current overnight capacity of tourists in the village is relatively low. Also, locals in Arthur’s Pass have less reliance on the limited services and facilities in the village. For example, many do their grocery shopping in Christchurch on a fortnightly basis. Thus, even though the majority of visitors are spatially concentrated around service points in the village, this does not interfere significantly with local lifestyles.

The level of tourism development in Arthur's Pass remains low. Although tourism is central to the local economy, it has not resulted in the sort of large scale and highly commercial developments that can stretch local infrastructure and residents' tolerance. Butler's (1980) model of tourism development (see Figure 6.1, p. 109) identifies a critical point on a destination's growth curve, at which the capacities of certain elements of the destination have been reached - natural resources, infrastructure or social factors such as crowding. The current visitor levels and extent of tourism development in Arthur's Pass appear to be within these capacities. The positive local attitudes towards tourism are consistent with this condition.

Those developments that do occur are mainly initiated by locals, which is consistent with the 'involvement' stage in Butler's (1980) progression of destination development. The high contribution of tourism to the Arthur's Pass economy is, however, not consistent with a destination in the early stages of development. This can be explained by the long and slow development of the tourism industry in the village. In the absence of other development options, tourism has slowly grown to be the central influence on the local economy, without large scale development. The small scale of the village also plays a part. Even a relatively undeveloped tourism industry can dominate a small economy.

This lack of real impetus for tourism development, from either suppliers or tourists, is characteristic of the industry in Arthur's Pass. Rather than being pushed along by developers looking to cater to an increasing proportion of comfort-seeking visitors, as Plog (1972) and Butler (1980) imply, Arthur's Pass village remains relatively static as a tourism destination. That increases in visitor numbers appear to be exceeding tourism development is, as noted by locals, a result of the current limitations on the number of people the village can hold.

The next chapter focuses on the relationship between the community and DOC.

Chapter 7 - The local community and DOC

7.1 Introduction

The Department of Conservation (DOC), like previous managers and administrators of conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, plays a significant part in the study area community. Between 1929 and 1987, ranger staff employed by the Arthur's Pass National Park Board were prominent players in the Arthur's Pass community. The prominence of conservation management and staff has grown in the Waimakariri Basin community since the 1968 gazettal of the Craigieburn Forest Park. Since then, a variety of protections have been placed on sites in the Waimakariri Basin. Today, over half of the study area is administered by DOC from its Area Office in Arthur's Pass village (see Map 2 on p. 56).

This chapter explores the relationships and interactions between DOC and the local people in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. It comprises four sections. The first, Section 7.2, argues that Department staff in Arthur's Pass operate amidst a local population that is attached in many ways to the local conservation lands and often has long-term connections with it. Section 7.3 examines how the changing culture of the conservation management agency is affecting the DOC-community relationship. The relationship between the Waimakariri Basin farming community and DOC is investigated in Section 7.4. The final section focuses on communication between DOC and the community in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin.

7.2 A critical local audience

In Arthur's Pass DOC operates amidst a critical audience of local people. As this section will demonstrate, it is continually under scrutiny from a local population who readily find fault with its administration and management practices.

Three aspects of the critical audience are identified and discussed below. First, DOC is managing land that is publicly owned. Second, it manages land about which locals have strong feelings. Third, DOC is highly visible to the local people. As will be shown, these conditions mean that DOC is open to several potential avenues of criticism from local people.

7.2.1 Public ownership of DOC-administered land

Public ownership of Department-administered land is a frequently mentioned aspect of the relationship between DOC and the community. At times, DOC is exposed to criticism from locals who consider the Department to be over-extending its stewardship function.

DOC's asset management programme (VAMP), which is perceived by some to result in unnecessary dismantling of back-country huts (see Section 4.7.5), was commonly interpreted as an example of DOC exceeding its rights. The perspective of Sam, a farmer, is typical of this:

Sam: "DOC are becoming possessive of those assets [back country huts], and they forget who they're working for."

Researcher: "Who do you think they're working for?"

Sam: "The public, it's the public who own the assets. [DOC] are public servants, that's all they are. And they cannot -- y'know the way they go out and tear out a hut, that's vandalism."

As a government department, DOC uses public funds to manage conservation lands. Local people thus contribute to DOC funding through taxes, a point which several participants used in their assessment of DOC's performance. Wastefulness is a common complaint from locals, who have high expectations about how "their" money should be spent. The sentiments of Gerald, a bach owner, and Adam, a village resident, are examples of this:

"They [DOC] carted, by helicopter, a load of tanalised timber up [on to the side of a hill] and left it there, y'know just a bundle of it, for doing boardwalks. And it was there for such a long time that it was so twisted and warped that you couldn't use it for anything. Now, y'know -- that is bloody waste!"

"I always say that every March 7, when I have to pay my terminal tax payments, my hands just about tremble, because I know that they [DOC] will be just flushing it down the toilet up there [pointing to the DOC Area Office]."

The public ownership issue is also conspicuous in farmers' assessments of the Department's function and performance. Farmers' perceptions are discussed in more detail later in this chapter (Section 7.4).

7.2.2 Managing a resource 'precious' to locals

The difficult position from which DOC operates is accentuated because it manages a resource (conservation lands) that many locals feel very possessive and protective towards. Local attachment to the conservation lands (described in Chapter 5), means that DOC's

performance in maintaining those lands is always under close scrutiny from the local population. The local people want DOC to manage the lands in a way that reflects their own caring attitude, as Barbara, a bach owner, explains:

“By and large, the people who live [at Arthur’s Pass] ... care about the bush and the mountains, the rivers and the walks and they don’t like seeing it deteriorating all the time.”

Reaction to DOC’s pest and weed control efforts are a good example of this. For many locals, weeds and pests are an important indicator of DOC’s performance. In particular, gorse, broom, wilding pines and opossums are distinctive and clearly visible and their presence is keenly felt by locals. The community participation in pest and weed control activities, which occurs in areas for which the Department is not responsible, is indicative of the strength of local feeling (see Section 5.4.1). Locals, such as Reginald, are critical of DOC’s performance if weeds or pests are perceived to be going unchecked on conservation land:

“... the amount of broom on Bealey Spur, it’s just terrible ... I’ve got a particular thing about broom, so whenever I see it I’ll either take a pick or pull it out or something. But y’know, it’s like a lot of perception of government departments - a lot of talk but no action.”

On the other hand, if a reduction of weeds or pests is noticed, DOC is given credit for maintaining the lands which the people have such an affinity for. Frank is one who recognises DOC’s recent weed control efforts:

“... the amount of spraying and the amount of other work that’s going on [by DOC] has definitely increased and has been effective. And so that gives people a lot of comfort because there’s nothing like driving down the Waimak in the springtime and all you see is yellow, it just drives you nuts.”

Like pests and weeds, the condition of tracks and other facilities on conservation land influences local perceptions of DOC’s performance. For many locals, the opportunity to walk in the conservation lands (particularly in Arthur’s Pass National Park) is an important means for them to connect with and appreciate their home environment. They also see the tracks as offering opportunities for others to enjoy the natural resource. Thus, locals are aggrieved with DOC when they perceive that track maintenance is not occurring:

“DOC got our backs up by letting the tracks go to bits, become over-grown, boardwalks broken ...” (Aaron)

This perception is similar to that found in a study of local people living next to Kahurangi National Park, in the north west corner of the South Island (Taylor et al., 1999).

In particular, there is a strong sentiment in the community against DOC's asset management programme (VAMP). Bach owners in particular are critical, as Terry demonstrates:

“ ... it's disappointing that there isn't more track management and the fact that [DOC] feel that they can no longer keep tracks open. It's very disappointing, I mean it doesn't worry me so much but I think of the people that want to use tracks and huts.”

Terry's concerns arise because he feels DOC is compromising the future values of the conservation lands.

There is widespread placement of value on, and assignment of meaning to, the conservation lands by locals. Any DOC activities or attitudes perceived by locals to be in opposition to those values and meanings are therefore criticised.

7.2.3 Visibility of DOC in a small community

In proportional terms, DOC is a relatively large force in the small Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin community. They are not the 'faceless bureaucracy' that government departments may become in larger centres. Rather, individual employees are recognisable, DOC vehicles are easily distinguishable and their outdoor activities are often clearly visible to the local population. Frank describes how local people are able to see DOC 'close up' and often hold negative views of the Department as a result:

“ ... [village residents], we're always very critical because we *see* [DOC]. Most [people] never get to see a government department in action all the time. We see the good things that they do, we see the bad things that they do and we see the personalities involved. We see the government mentality thinking that happens, both good and bad, and it can be a source of tremendous frustration.”

Relationships between DOC and the local people occur on a very personal level. Residents and bach owners know the individuals who are making DOC's local-level decisions, they see them on the street or at the local pub. Many participants referred to personalities and individuals when discussing the Department. An example is given by Aaron, a bach owner:

“ ... we used to be able to pick [firewood] up out of the rivers and anywhere... But then our two ..., horror blokes [DOC managers] that we had up there, said “you are not allowed to pick up any dead wood in the Park anywhere, it must stay there and rot.””

Stefan, a village resident with past experience of living with big city bureaucracy, elaborates on the personal nature of DOC's relationship with the community:

"DOC's relationship with the community here [in Arthur's Pass] is more on a character-based level, in a way ... Because the DOC personnel live in the village and it's a small community, it's more personal. People take things personally. If [someone] up in the [DOC] office there tells you that you're doing something that's inappropriate ... people take it personally, they actually say "it's him against the community." I think that's a small community thing, living in the city you never struck that. Y'know authorities were authorities. You just got told what to do and it was really impersonal. Whereas here, it's a lot more personal. I think that's the difference here."

As Stefan notes, personality-based relationships between authorities and local people are likely to be typical of small communities.

The high visibility of DOC in the community does not extend to an accurate local understanding of the Department's activities. Lee, from DOC, points out that much of DOC's activities are, in fact, not visible to the local population:

"... there's one ravaging [issue] on at the moment about broom and weeds, because some people who own baches here see broom growing on the side of the State Highway, and they see that as a huge threat. Whereas in actual fact, if you look at the big picture ... it's not a huge issue, there's bigger fish to fry and bigger issues. And a lot of good work's being done out there, but you can't actually physically see it from the State Highway so therefore [the local perception is that] "nobody's doing anything!"

The implication of Lee's observation is that although the community gets an 'up close and personal' view of DOC, their understanding of the Department and its activities is sometimes limited.

Public ownership and strong local feelings towards conservation land in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin means that the community demands high standards from DOC. The high visibility of DOC staff in the community adds to locals' tendency to evaluate DOC's performance. In addition to these three aspects of the critical local audience, there is another key influence on the relationship between DOC and the community - the way that DOC administers the land in comparison to past administration. This theme is taken up in the next section.

7.3 The changing culture of conservation management

Chapter 4 (Section 4.7.5) described how conservation management in New Zealand has evolved. It explained how conservation management staff have changed from being pragmatic field staff, with a range of duties, to specialists with more office-based duties (McBean, 1992). The conservation function assigned to DOC today is broader than that

assumed by earlier Park administration agencies - the Arthur's Pass National Park Board and the National Park Authority. DOC currently operates in an administrative environment of strict accountability and standard operating procedures. DOC staff in Arthur's Pass do not have the same autonomy as their predecessors.

These changes mean that DOC's style of management in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is shifting away from the past forms of Park administration that many locals can recall. This section shows how the legacy of previous protected land management agencies influences the DOC-community relationship. Key differences in management style noticed by locals include a decline in social integration and community involvement and a lack of autonomy. DOC's shift towards a corporate image and a business approach are also keenly felt by longer-term residents. A local example of DOC changing its management style with respect to a historically significant skifield is discussed.

Many of the participants who have a long association with the area recall the Park Board and rangers who preceded DOC. These participants generally see DOC as failing to reach the standards set by earlier Park management, which was characterised by active community involvement and a succession of hardy but sociable rangers, who were constantly "out in the Park" cutting and maintaining tracks. Margaret and Reginald, both bach owners in the village, share their memories of past rangers in Arthur's Pass:

"... there was always just one ranger, you see, when we were young, who did everything. And you got to know the ranger very well and he left everybody alone and yet he had his 'eyes on stalks' as well. I think one of the biggest differences that I've seen between the rangers staff from my day was that ... they were just supremely fit and they were out, out in the actual Park. Out looking for shooters without permits and -- y'know they were as fit as can be. There was a toughness and a very nice side to them as well."

"... we had some splendid fellows. [Previous Park rangers] were virtually one man, they occasionally hired workers and they might have had an assistant. But they not only got on well with the [local] people, but they're out on the tracks as well, they were really good people. We've now got the other end of the spectrum, where [DOC] have so many people, and they're all in uniforms and they've got four-wheel-drives and we say "but you should be spending the money on keeping all these tracks". I dug out their job specifications and I think, at that time, only two of about 17 went out to do any work."

Participants' also recall how early rangers were socially involved in the community, both on an inter-personal level and through civic participation. In contrast, DOC is perceived as being less socially integrated within the community and less interested in community

affairs. Craig's account of Park management involvement in the Arthur's Pass chapel demonstrates this perception:

"Right from the time [the chapel] started, which was 1956, the [Park] ranger was sitting on the committee. After all he'd been in favour of it, he'd helped it ... and his successors did the same. When it came to 1987, the first DOC chappie there, "Oh" he says "we haven't got resources to handle that". And since then, DOC has absolutely scrubbed any interest in the chapel - previously they used to do the mowing around it. Absolutely incredible that they could be so stupid, and so -- they still don't [take interest in the chapel]. So it means that -- we call it a "jewel in the crown" up there, it means that they [DOC] disregard it. And the residents, they value it there. So, in the end, the locals up there managed to get a subsidy, through the Selwyn District [Council] to buy a brush-cutter ... [a resident] does the work around there now. And y'know those little things do niggle."

Inevitably, the collection of DOC staff in Arthur's Pass build up a group dynamic, based on their common work-related goals and interactions. This removes the absolute necessity for social integration in the community. Such a group-dynamic could never have formed within the minimal ranger staff (often just one man) of the Park Board days and earlier; social survival would have been difficult without being fully involved in the community.

Sometimes locals value aspects of the conservation land in a way that DOC cannot or does not. Pieces of local history are good examples, such as a track cut by a locally revered ranger from the 1940s. The track is considered by some bach owners to be historically significant, but a DOC staff member stated that the Department is not willing to maintain the track, which it considers to be rarely used and dangerous. Another often mentioned example involves the locally prized "Welcome to Arthur's Pass National Park" roadside signs, made of wood and stone, hand built by a previous Park ranger and a local resident. These were removed in favour of standardised green and yellow signs soon after DOC became established in Arthur's Pass in 1987, much to the chagrin of some village occupants. The DOC 'take-over' of the museum/community centre for conservation administration purposes is another common grievance.

Incidents such as these have given many longer-term locals the feeling that DOC in Arthur's Pass is not concerned about the local community - particularly the community's desire to have an identity distinct from the conservation management agency it houses. The changing style of conservation management which DOC staff adopt is not always consistent with the image of Arthur's Pass that many locals hold:

"It really surprises us that, y'know a beautiful easy going place like Arthur's Pass, has got to assume this great departmental thing." (Craig, a bach owner)

Generally, the differences between DOC today and the previous styles of management arise because of the changed culture in conservation management, described in Chapter 4 (Section 4.7.5). DOC today is strongly influenced by safety regulations and fiscal accountability. Participants commented that DOC's actions in Arthur's Pass were often directed from regional and national offices, which remove some of their capacity to make appropriate local decisions. Ben's metaphor illustrates this perception:

"DOC here [in Arthur's Pass] are really just the tail of the dog which lives in Wellington."

In the past, there was much less constraint on what the conservation managers and rangers did, and they were able to demonstrate greater autonomy in the community. Lee, from DOC, explains:

"... the Department back then, [in] Lands and Survey days, was a completely different animal. They didn't have to worry about weeds and pest animals and how many mohua there are or how many roaroa, or anything else. They just looked after tracks."

In addition, the amount of land administered from the DOC office in Arthur's Pass village increased substantially as a result of the 1997 departmental restructuring (see Section 4.7.4). DOC in Arthur's Pass was given responsibility for land in the North Canterbury foothills, including Lees Valley and the Oxford Conservation Area (see Map 2, p. 56). This necessitates a lot of travel for DOC staff between Arthur's Pass and the Oxford area (see Map 1, p. 46). Several participants mentioned with disapproval how this travel wasted time and fuel at the taxpayer's expense.

For their part, DOC staff are generally aware that there is some negative local feelings towards their presence and performance. Lee, from DOC, attributes part of the local criticism to historical grievances, which are not easily overcome:

"We have real critics here, which is fine, I mean no organisation's perfect and probably DOC least of all. But there is an element there where we can't even begin to overcome the historical -- y'know their minds have been made up by past events and they're not prepared to shift."

DOC's awareness of what the community thinks about it is an important step towards a constructive relationship. Lee regards misinformation and misperception by the community as a threat to the agency-community relationship:

"... you never know what you're fighting y'see. You never know what misinformation you're trying to deal with ..."

DOC's community newsletter, *Park Talk* (discussed further in Section 7.5), is seen as helping in the battle against misinformation.

Overall, DOC in Arthur's Pass believes that maintaining relations with the Arthur's Pass community is not as problematic as it could be. Although locals' connection and attachment with the area places DOC's activities under scrutiny, the fact that the majority of locals have chosen to live in Arthur's Pass or the Waimakariri Basin gives the Department an advantage:

“... I think we [DOC] are lucky that we've got the community that we have here. We could very easily be in a community where [local people] have been born and bred and it would be a lot more difficult.” (Lee from DOC)

The changes in conservation management style in New Zealand have resulted in a tightening up of administration practices for Arthur's Pass National Park and conservation land in the Waimakariri Basin. Involvement with outside groups has become more formal and DOC's business approach is evidenced in the seeking of concessions from commercial users of national park land. Symptomatic of the changes is DOC's current willingness to relinquish ownership of its structures at the Temple Basin Skifield and charge operators a concession fee; this withdrawal comes at a site which had significant development input from previous National Park administration. The next section looks more closely at the Temple Basin issue, particularly at how local people view the current DOC approach to the skifield.

7.3.1 The Temple Basin issue

The Temple Basin issue is a much debated topic in the Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin community. The description of it given in this section is a useful illustration of the DOC-community relationship.

Temple Basin skifield is located within Arthur's Pass National Park, immediately to the east of the Pass itself (see Map 1, p. 46). It has been in existence since Arthur's Pass National Park was gazetted in 1929. Two clubs use the skifield. A Ski Area Management group, with representatives from each club, operates the Temple Basin ski area. The skifield is regarded as being unique because it is located in an alpine area, unlike the other local skifields on the lower Craigieburn Range.

There are three ski-tows at the field and a goods-lift from the carpark next to State Highway 73. Accommodation for up to 120 people is provided in lodges owned by the ski clubs. There are two day-shelters, one operated by DOC, the other jointly maintained by DOC and the skifield. Access is via an old four-wheel drive track and then a walking track. The ski area itself covers four separate basins, catering to a range of skiing and snowboarding abilities. Floodlights allow night skiing on slopes adjacent to the lodges. In

the summer, the ski area is used by casual recreationists and by people involved in commercial activities organised by the Management Group, such as seminars, staff training and bonding activities, school field trips and outdoor adventure camps.

The role of Arthur's Pass National Park management in the ski area has altered since its inception in 1929, most notably in the last two decades. Law (1980) notes that up until the 1970s, the strong historical ties between club skiing operations at Temple Basin and the development of Arthur's Pass National Park had entrenched the image of Temple Basin as a skifield, despite legislation which implied that the skifield could only operate by consent of the Park's administration. The then Arthur's Pass National Park Board had accepted skiing as a legitimate use of Temple Basin, and was "cautious" about how it was managed, not wishing to alter the status quo (Law, 1980).

The 1979 Arthur's Pass National Park Management Plan classified Temple Basin as a 'facilities area', with guidelines implying limited future development (Law, 1980). An upgrade of the Park Management Plan in the early 1990s removed the classification (DOC, 1995a), exposing the ski area to the same management goals as the rest of the National Park. Since then, DOC has instigated concession¹ negotiations with the two ski clubs at Temple Basin and there has been considerable public debate² over the appropriateness of the Temple Basin ski area within Arthur's Pass National Park. Most of the 'anti-skifield' sentiment stems from concern over the environmental effects of the facilities, particularly the access track and sewerage system.

Lyn, a Temple Basin club official and Terry, a bach owner with close ties to the skifield, acknowledge the need for a concession on the skifield, but are wary of how much burden it may place on the field. They feel that DOC is abandoning the skifield, given the past involvement by Park management:

"We're currently negotiating a formal arrangement [concession with DOC], because to date we haven't any formal arrangements at all with the Department and haven't since the formation of the place. I guess we worked so closely with them nobody believed it was necessary. It probably is these days and we're in the negotiation process at the moment. It will draw to a close sometime in the future." (Lyn)

¹ DOC's use of concessions to manage commercial use of conservation land is described in Section 2.2.5

² Articles and 'letters to the editor' in a Christchurch-based newspaper cover the debate (e.g. Mair, 1998; Iosefa, 1999)

“We do realise that there’s got to be some sort of concession. But it’s just the terms that are stinging a bit. Other [ski] clubs have been involved with the same thing and ... some of them haven’t come out of it too well. So we’re just scared of that.” (Terry)

At the time of writing, the details of the concession had been agreed to, with one exception. James, from DOC, explained that the Department wants the two clubs operating out of Temple Basin to take responsibility for their use of tracks to and around the skifield, by contributing on a labour or pro-rata basis for their portion of use. From James’ perspective, however, the clubs “... don’t seem to want to negotiate on any level.” The issue is thus unresolved. Either the skifield or the Department will need to yield from their current stance if resolution is to occur.

Lyn, a Temple Basin club official, is hesitant about taking responsibility for the tracks and car-parking, maintaining that the Department should continue to take the role:

“The walking track is an issue. That’s an area of negotiation between ourselves and the Department at the moment. [DOC] are charged with the responsibility of maintaining the tracks and carparks in the National Park, not us. So we’re having discussions along those lines. But that will be resolved as well, in due course ... The fact they’re hands-off now, when they used to be hands-on, irks some of our members. But I guess from DOC’s perspective it’s probably understandable.”

As in the case of the Arthur’s Pass village chapel described earlier, DOC’s current approach towards Temple Basin is much closer to its legislative obligations and more divorced from socio-historical considerations than that taken by previous Park administration. Most residents and bach owners in Arthur’s Pass are aware of DOC’s new management attitude towards the local skifield. Their reactions to DOC’s stance vary according to their personal views on the appropriateness of Temple Basin.

Many bach owners are past or present members of the ski clubs at Temple Basin, and are upset at the attitude DOC has taken towards the skifield. Aaron takes the historical aspect into account in his assessment:

“... [the skifield] was established before concessions were set up, so I don’t believe that it was logical for DOC to try and force the Temple Basin ski-club to pay a concession.”

Other village residents, like Arthur, expressed their concern over the appropriateness of the skifield in the Park:

“... the pristine environment is quite important [at Arthur’s Pass]. Getting up in the morning and seeing the mountains without towers and cableways and stuff going across it, it’s great. Going up to Temple Basin and seeing what they’ve got there, it sort of ruins it a little bit. It’s tolerable, but coming home at night you see the lights up in the hills, you think “ohh people are up there”, you can see where the old huts have been and it’s sort of ruined it a bit.”

Harry, who currently operates a tourism operation under a DOC concession, expressed dissatisfaction with Temple Basin’s environmental practices and with DOC’s failure to impose a concession on the skifield:

“The days when Temple Basin was a voluntary, private field operating in a National Park are over ... I think it is a failing of DOC to not force that concession onto them. I think it’s also a failing of the Temple Basin membership, who somehow believe they have a privileged position which relieves them from the requirement to operate under the same [best environmental practice] basis as all the rest of us do.”

The Department’s attempts to place a concession on Temple Basin skifield are an example of how park management’s regulatory activities can affect a local population. However, not all in the community are opposed to DOC’s role in this case. Those with close affiliations to Temple Basin agree that DOC is pulling out of a historical partnership and unjustifiably trying to regulate activities at the skifield. However, other sections of the community view the concession structure as a necessary form of regulation and criticise DOC for not implementing it. DOC is criticised no matter which steps it takes - not an unexpected situation for a public natural resource management agency.

7.3.2 Section summary

Shifts in conservation management approach in Arthur’s Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are strongly felt by those who can recall previous administrative approaches. The new management style conflicts with the image and identity of Arthur’s Pass that many longer-term locals have. Consequently, DOC is often compared unfavourably with earlier rangers and management agencies.

Locals feel that DOC is less socially integrated and less involved in the community than ranger staff. Many locals mention the shift from the field into the office among Park management staff. Although community members understand that DOC staff in Arthur’s Pass have less autonomy than their predecessors, unpopular deeds are still blamed on local DOC staff.

The Department's shift towards a formal business approach to conservation, evidenced in their handling of Temple Basin skifield, is greeted in different ways by different sections of the community. Those who previously enjoyed an informal partnership with conservation management, such as Temple Basin ski clubs and other recreational user groups, are unhappy with the more rigid approach. Others support DOC's robust approach to maintaining conservation values but are critical when they feel the Department is not being forceful enough.

The farming community has received little attention in this chapter to this point. As adjacent landowners, farmers' interactions with DOC are an important part of the overall community-DOC relationship. The next section examines these DOC-farmer relationships.

7.4 High country farmers and DOC

This section focuses on relationships between the pastoral farming community in the Waimakariri Basin and the Department of Conservation. Pastoralism and conservation are traditionally the two main land uses in the study area. In the past, land suitable for pastoralism was not considered as potential conservation land, a result of the utilitarian land philosophy of the time (see Section 4.7). However, since the retirement of high altitude land for protection purposes was accepted in the 1960s, pastoralists in the Waimakariri Basin have had to concede grazing land to the conservation movement. Today, with the ongoing debate about the future of the Torlesse Range and nearby grazing lands (see Section 4.7.4) as well as new crown land legislation (see Section 4.5.3), pastoralists in the Waimakariri Basin more than ever feel DOC to be a threat to their existence.

Historical grievances between Waimakariri Basin pastoralists and DOC still influence relationships today. There is a widely perceived view that conservation and farming are incompatible. This tension is not based solely on ecological grounds. From a socio-economic perspective the key difference between the two land uses is that pastoral farming is a private sector activity whereas conservation is public sector activity. This difference influences the relationship between DOC and the farmers in the Waimakariri Basin.

The public ownership issue is conspicuous in the farming community. Long-standing private-public sector arguments are made by farmers who feel that DOC has an unfair advantage because it is less accountable in how it uses its allocated money. Basin farmers

like Patrick see themselves as struggling to make ends meet, while DOC make profligate use of tax-payers money:

“The Department of Conservation have got a place in society. But it’s just keeping the place, keeping a happy medium. Making sure that what they’re doing is sound and reasonable and not wasteful. And I think that’s why people have this “oh, bloody DOC” attitude. For example, we have to make our own money to keep the place [farm] how it is. We can’t just go to the government and say “oh hell, we had a bad wool year y’know, the weeds are getting away up there, give us 20 grand [20 thousand dollars] and we’ll just go up and spray those”, we can’t do that. Whereas DOC do have a certain amount of money allocated to them and they channel that money into what they see as necessary. And the difference is, we don’t [have money allocated], we have to still try to control problems like erosion and weeds and bits and pieces, but we have to do it out of money we make. Y’know what I mean, it’s quite a difference. It’s very easy to spend money that you haven’t actually made, that someone’s just given you.”

Another issue taken up by farmers in the Basin is an argument about the economic viability of conservation land. This issue is amplified by the tenure review process (see Section 4.5.3) and the current debate surrounding the possibility of gazetting a new Conservation Park on and around the Torlesse Range, an area historically used for grazing (see Section 4.7.4). Farmers see conservation as having little obvious economic benefit when compared to pastoralism. They have difficulty accepting that conservation is able to survive without an economic rationale, while they cannot. Patrick again shares his thoughts:

“... if we [high country pastoralists] can produce something for New Zealand and it’s actually making money, why [should we leave the land]. Is it costing money or is it making money? ... what are the actual damages happening with [the land] being farmed conservatively? ... is there a major problem with that? Really, you’ve just got to weigh it up, if a farmer’s making 20 thousand [dollars] off it, he’s making New Zealand 80 thousand [dollars] a year in income for shearers and so on. So he’s useful, he’s a contributor to society ... there is actual money there, being circulated. Whereas if the Department of Conservation’s just employing more people [to manage that piece of land], where is that money coming from? It’s coming from you and I, the taxpayer. And that money doesn’t grow on a tree, and is this money well spent? My thought would be, no.”

Farmers with a history in the high country perceive DOC to be land-grabbers, taking valuable farm land and compromising the viability of pastoralism. The perceived threat from DOC is accentuated by observations that DOC targets sections of existing runs with high conservation values. In a time when economies of scale are important to maintaining farm viability, the fencing of farm areas with conservation value or purpose (such as tops, wetlands and areas of native bush) reduces the advantage of scale and places more production pressure on the remaining farmland. Negative outcomes from conservation on

the farming community are indicated by Graeme, who describes here his feelings about recent transferrals of pastoral land into the conservation estate:

“... that area of Ben More [Station], which was purchased by the Forest Heritage Fund [and passed over to DOC for management], I think there was a lot of very good grazing land on that [land,] which should never have been shut up ... that’s been taken out of the productive grazing land of the area, and a similar -- the Avoca run that was purchased by the Forest Heritage Fund as well. Well that’s also land that’s gone out of production. It’s watering down the economic viability of the district and it’s just another nail in the coffin of the rural community in this area.”

Pastoralists advocate grazing as an effective strategy for weed and fire control, and are therefore bemused to see DOC taking on more land only to finish up spending taxpayers’ money to manage the weeds and fires that arise from the removal of grazing. Alex’s concerns are typical of other farmers’:

“... [DOC] have gotta realise there’s a huge cost in taking [high] country out of [pastoral] production -- they’ve gotta put money into weed control, which the sheep are doing anyway. They say it’s for conservation, but if [the land] gets covered in weeds, then conservation’s irrelevant -- if [DOC] want to maintain it as tussock grassland, then grazing is a very viable part of the management of it.”

At the crux of the DOC-pastoralist tension is an argument over whether high country farmers are practising conservation or not. The farmers describe themselves as conservationists at heart. They criticise DOC for not acknowledging them as conservationists and holding strong anti-pastoralism views. Simon’s view is typical:

“... there’s a fair bit of room for a bit more give and take, a bit more realisation from the Department of Conservation that we are also conservationists and that we are sometimes able to manage certain parts of conservation probably cheaper and better than what they can, and I’m sure they can do the same, they can manage parts better than we can.”

Another farmer, Max, suggests that there is a conflict of interest in the activities of farmers and DOC:

“[DOC] have got plants and stuff that they come and count. I wouldn’t be surprised if they come in and say “we want to fence that [area of plants] off”. I wouldn’t be surprised, because really, they’re counting to see if there’s any seedlings and if there’s not then that must mean that the stock are eating them. So they will want to keep the stock out. So, little things like that I suppose, which y’know, I can understand from their point of view too. Y’know, they’re interfering with somebody’s way of living, but I understand because they want to keep the plants and keep them safe. So it’s totally, y’know, a conflict of interest all the time.”

The farmers’ perception is not totally unfounded. Although DOC staff whose tasks include interaction with farmers were generally sympathetic to the farmers’ cause, those who do

not interact with farmers took a harder position. Comments from two DOC staff at Arthur's Pass show these different attitudes to farmers that exist within the Department:

"... [pastoralists], they're actually conservationists, they're practising sustainable management, you have to on a high country farm." (Duncan)

"Pastoral farming and nature conservation are really at odds with each other, they always will be ... particularly in [the Waimakariri Basin], it is an incredibly destructive process. It's not living with the land, it's land change." (Peter)

Sandy's view on pastoralism reflects more traditional attitudes towards park management - the effects of humans are viewed as incompatible with conservation goals. Lee's view suggests a shift towards the inclusive model of park management described in Chapter 4, where pastoralists are recognised and treated as part of the local environment rather than being separated and seen as a threat.

A DOC staff member frequently interacting with farmers, refers to the farming community as reacting differently to different sections within the Department:

"... there are divisions in DOC - biodiversity, recreation and so on. Because I'm not with biodiversity in DOC, I'm not that great a threat to [the farmers], they're a bit more tolerant ... If they think you're into the biodiversity and looking to protect, [the farmers] think "oh hell, they want more land" ... Fire [control] is a good PR [public relations] for DOC, because it's not a threat [to farmers], even though we'll charge them money if they get a burn out of control. But we work side by side with them."

These comments suggests that farmers' distrust is based only on those areas of DOC activity perceived to compromise or threaten their own production goals. Biodiversity is seen as a threat because of the push to include grazable tussocklands and wetlands in the conservation estate. Recreation is a threat to farmers because of problems associated with providing access to recreationists.

In some circumstances, even DOC's fire-control activities are a threat to farmers, an issue raised in a subsequent section (Section 7.5.2).

7.4.1 Section summary

This section has shown that the farming community in the Basin feel threatened by many areas of DOC activity. The view that conservation and farming are incompatible underpins the relationship between farmers and DOC. The farmers take an economic viewpoint of land management and therefore question the viability of DOC's conservation and recreation goals. Private-public sector arguments reflect the inevitable differences between farmers, who are committed to making a living directly from the land, and DOC, who manage the land but is under less pressure to make income from it.

Farmers in the Waimakariri Basin know from experience that grazing of tussocklands reduces the spread of weeds and the threat of fire. They therefore feel that grazing is a necessary part of tussockland management. The transfer of grazing lands into the conservation estate, not only in the Waimakariri Basin but throughout the South Island high country as a result of tenure reviews (see Section 4.5.2), creates scepticism towards DOC among the farming community. This is because the threat and cost of controlling weeds and fires is much higher when grazing is removed. Farmers believe they can control weeds and fire in the Waimakariri Basin tussocklands more efficiently and cost-effectively than DOC.

Communication is an important part of the relationship between farmers and DOC. The next section looks at communication between DOC and the two communities in the study area, Arthur's Pass village and the Waimakariri Basin.

7.5 Communication between DOC and locals

Communication between DOC and the local community emerged from interviews as an important factor in how locals assess DOC. This section begins by explaining local perceptions of the effectiveness of Arthur's Pass DOC staff as communicators. Communication between the Department and the farming community in the Waimakariri Basin is also considered, leading to a discussion about local knowledge of the land. The covenant issue, a recent discord between some village residents and DOC in Arthur's Pass, is also examined.

7.5.1 Perceptions of DOC as communicators

Many study participants see the relationship between DOC and local people to be less than ideal in many respects. Tony and Wayne, both village residents, identify communication as playing a key role in improving and maintaining a healthy relationship.

“... current [Park] management, frankly -- lacks a bit of initiative, and the skills to communicate with the locals.”

“DOC don't communicate very well with the village, as an organisation. They don't really keep you informed as to what they are doing ... I think they're bad communicators -- which works against them a lot of the time.”

In 1998, DOC created a 50 per cent position for a Community Relations Officer, which was filled by a village resident. The position involves raising public awareness of conservation issues and advocating for conservation values that DOC wants to promote in the area.

A big part of DOC's effort to communicate with the community is its newsletter, *ParkTalk*, which is prepared three or four times each year. The newsletter is distributed to all members of the community. It includes description of conservation activities and projects undertaken by DOC and the community, regular updates on track maintenance and weed control and information about changes to DOC staff³. *ParkTalk* is generally appreciated by participants from the village:

"It is good to let the community know what they are up to, y'know, and especially if you're not *au'fait* with any of the local DOC characters, you'd never know. You see them driving round emptying rubbish bins, obviously you know they are doing work, but it is nice to be informed, it's almost like a courtesy, 'cause we're in a small community." (Gary)

A tourism operator from the Basin noted that the *ParkTalk* newsletter was only a one-way form of communication and that a need existed for a regular public forum. The farming community in particular felt that the only times they interacted with DOC was when either party had a grievance to take up with the other. This contributed to an unsatisfactory interaction from Albert's perspective:

"... usually when I approach them [DOC] about [my problems], I'm not in a good mood. And they always tell you that they're gonna get back to you and things like this. They're basically just keeping me quiet."

DOC staff are aware of the need for meetings that are not motivated by grievances. Arthur, a DOC staff member involved with the farming community, feels that an improved DOC-farmer relationship can arise from better communication:

Researcher: "Do you think that the relationship could be improved with the local community?"

Arthur: "Yes, it can be improved, more communication ... meeting with the farmers, not necessarily on their turf, but meeting them when there's no threat posed. Y'know, instead of always just meeting on an negative issue, to have situations where you can just talk, even if it's only a five minute conversation. Just to ring up and see if everything's all right or something."

During the time of writing, DOC staff initiated a field day for local farmers. Information was exchanged between the farmers, DOC and fire authorities over issues such as fire,

³ *ParkTalk* was placed on-line at the time of writing on a web-page maintained by a village resident and part-time DOC employee (available at <http://softrock.co.New Zealand/parkt>). The page also includes an up-to-date account of facilities maintenance activities on conservation land in the Waimakariri Area as well as a list of scheduled tasks.

weeds, biological control and wilding pines. DOC staff who attended the field day were hopeful that it would enhance their day-to-day relationships with adjoining landowners (DOC, 2000c).

7.5.2 Local knowledge and fire control

Fire control is an aspect of DOC's role that has particular relevance to the community. The Department's responsibility to fight any fire within one kilometre of conservation land puts DOC staff in situations where they are working alongside locals to repel a mutual threat. One runholder in the Basin had cause to be extremely grateful for DOC's fire control actions:

"One of the good things that DOC's done, is it has brought a much more regimented approach to fire control. Fire control used to be very haphazard, the whole rural fire authority thing. But [DOC] now takes the whole fire responsibility very seriously. We had a fire here ... and I was astonished by the resources and effort that DOC bought to control it. Most of the fire-fighters were DOC staff called in from all over Canterbury. Now that's a humbling experience to see how hard they worked and how professional they were in their operations. In the absence of that team, we could have had half this property burnt."

However, another runholder, Don, had reservations about DOC's capability to fight fires, and questioned the efficiency of their use of fire-fighting resources:

"... the DOC people, they're inexperienced, they don't know how to fight a fire, they're frightened of fires. They're very quick to use the most expensive methods possible if it means they don't have to get involved themselves ... There's been examples where DOC have been in control of fighting the fires and the costs have been exorbitant. The State are paying the bill, but if the fire starts accidentally and the liability comes back on the farmer and the Department of Conservation are responsible for controlling that fire, it could bankrupt a farmer by their incompetence."

DOC's bearing of fire-fighting responsibility means that local farmers' fire-fighting knowledge is not used any more, which, in the view of Don, limits fire control options:

"... twenty years ago, if there was a fire in the area, the local expertise dealt with it. Now, it seems to be that there's a hierarchy which normally stops at DOC ... There was a big fire here in the 60s, it started at Grasmere and burned through to the corner of Lake Pearson. Y'know, the farmers stopped that with a back-burn. Now, I don't know what DOC would do now [with a fire like that], they wouldn't allow a farmer to back-burn, they wouldn't allow a farmer to attempt to put it out. They would just let the thing burn, it'd probably stop up in the Forest Park."

Issues like this fire-fighting example promote the farmers' perception that their own knowledge and skills are not valued or acknowledged by DOC. The perception that DOC staff have a different understanding of the land than the farming community is implicit. As found in a DOC study of associate group perceptions (DOC, 1992, see Section 2.2.4),

farmers in the Basin often refer to a contrast between their own backgrounds and those of DOC staff. Patrick, for example, places importance on experience with “the land”:

“I think when DOC take on staff for [farming-related] issues, that they need to have people who are realists, people that have had a lot of experience on the land. Whether they’ve managed farms or whether they’ve, I dunno, had a lot of input into the land, they’ve lived on the land, they’ve even worked on the land doing something, doesn’t matter what, whether it’s logging or whatever, but they’ve been around long enough to see what does actually happen in reality on the land. And they have good people skills, so that at the end of the day they can relate to other people who are on the land and they can see it, have a better overall picture of it, because they’ve had some hands on experience rather than just some theory.”

This particular farmer perception is consistent with findings in Norway from Kaltenborn et al. (1999), who identified a mistrust of park management among local farmers, based on their individual history and attachment with the land (see Section 2.2.1). Basin farmers like Patrick and Sam, who have spent most of their lives on high country land and built up stores of understanding about its capabilities, are sceptical of the sort of knowledge that DOC staff bring to the area:

“It’s very easy for someone [from DOC] to come out of a lecture and say “this is how it should be done”, without any practical experience.” (Patrick)

The same perception also exists in long-term residents of Arthur’s Pass village, who criticised DOC staff for not being in their positions long enough to gain an understanding of the area. Margaret and Cathy’s views are illustrative of this:

“One of the things I find at Arthur’s Pass in these later years is that you have quite a change of employees in the Conservation Department up there. And many of them, y’know they go around from one park to another and so on and I just think that they don’t quite have that very long view of that particular spot.”

“... you live in the [Arthur’s Pass] situation, a harsh climate, you know it so well, you’ve been there for years, you learn to live with it. Then you have [DOC] people from outside, none of them have ever lived in the mountains before ... and they come in with their grand ideas, and they don’t know -- they just take over. And then within seven years they’re gone. They’re gone and they’ve left us all rather -- angry (laughs). Not all of them ... but it has happened at times.”

7.5.3 The covenant issue

In the past, Park administration had much more authority over section owners in Arthur’s Pass village than they have today. Until the early 1990s, most village sections were Crown leasehold. One of the conditions of the lease was that the land on the section should be deemed part of the National Park, which gave Park managers a form of jurisdiction over village sections.

In an effort to continue to protect conservation values on village sections that had been freeholded, DOC management in Arthur's Pass village drew up a covenant and had it placed on section titles. The covenant included restrictions on what the title owners could and could not do on their land. The covenant has since been found to be unenforceable and is in the process of being removed from titles. In the meantime however, the covenants generated a lot of community ill feeling towards DOC. Locals felt that details of the covenant, particularly regulations over domestic pets, such as cats and dogs, were impractical and unfair. Also, the time and resources that DOC had put into the covenants was seen as a waste of taxpayers' money. Adam, a village resident, conveys his displeasure over this issue:

“The Department of Conservation, being a very mismanaged organisation, was very zealous and was happy to spend lots of taxpayers' money in order to get the protective covenants put on the properties. But the boneheads that did it neglected to put any enforcement provisions or any sort of administration elements to the law. So there's no-one who has power to enforce them. And plus they were not applied uniformly, so some properties didn't have them. So that element of it annoyed me.”

The covenant issue appears to be at a close. However, it has left many village residents sceptical about whether DOC is giving adequate consideration to the local community when pursuing conservation goals.

The general community perception is that DOC is not communicating as effectively as it could be, despite its efforts in creating a part-time Community Relations officer and publishing a community newsletter. Initiatives like farmer field days help improve the communication between DOC and the farming community. However, there is still a perception among farmers that their knowledge of the land is ignored by DOC staff. Local people with long-term connections to the area, particularly farmers and bach owners, remain sceptical about how short-term DOC staff can effectively manage the land without such knowledge.

7.6 Chapter summary

Conservation staff have historically been prominent members of the Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin communities and continue to be so today. This chapter has identified two important segments of the local population: (i) those with long associations with the study area, and (ii) pastoral farmers, who consider themselves to have good reason for being unsympathetic towards the Department. Long-term residents and bach owners compare DOC unfavourably to previous conservation management agencies, while

pastoral farmers in the Waimakariri Basin consider DOC as a threat to the rural farming community.

Locals' inclination to evaluate and criticise DOC arise from a number of factors: strong attachment and historical ties to the local environment; DOC's situation of using taxpayers' funds to administer publicly owned lands; the high visibility of DOC in the community; and the business and corporate style DOC currently uses in managing conservation lands.

Long-term Arthur's Pass locals perceive that social integration and community involvement by Park management has decreased since the time when the Park Board and park rangers administered local conservation land. Many locals are critical of the change in management style away from the field towards office-based tasks. The way that many of the longer-term residents and bachowners give meaning and relate to Arthur's Pass village - their image of the place - is sometimes not consistent with the corporate and business style adopted by DOC.

The DOC-farmer relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is characterised by perceptions that conservation and farming are inherently different forms of land use. Farmers' perceptions of DOC are coloured by historical grievances centering on private-public sector debates. DOC is perceived to be trying to take grazing land from the farmers without having effective or economic management methods to put in place.

Farmers feel that negativity in their interactions with DOC arise because DOC staff are not "from the land" and cannot understand the rural perspective. They consider DOC to be ignoring the local knowledge and skills that farmers have built up over long periods of time. Farmers are a different breed - their lifestyle means that the land is their life. Their ideas of what is appropriate use of tussockland differ with those of many environmentalists and conservationists who have not had exposure to a rural way of life.

The Department's ineffective communication with the community is not seen as improving their relationship with the local population. However, recent changes such as the appointment of a Community Relations officer and the beginning of farmer-field days have potential to bring about improvements in communication between DOC and the community.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

This thesis has presented different aspects of the relationship between the local community and the conservation lands around Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. The purpose of this chapter is to 'bring the pieces together' and present a holistic view of the local people-park relationship.

The chapter begins with a brief review of the study's aims, methods and setting (Section 8.1). Section 8.2 presents and discusses a model of the local people-park relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Section 8.3 reviews and discusses study findings in terms of the model. Implications of the study for future research are discussed in Section 8.4.

8.1 Study overview

The aim of this study has been to investigate the different ways and means through which a local community relates to and interacts with nearby conservation lands. Exploratory and broad in scope, the study has used a qualitative case-study approach.

The case study site, Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, has a history of Maori settlement, European pastoralism, road and rail construction and maintenance, and land protection. Two geographically separate communities exist within the study site. The first, Arthur's Pass village, lies in an alpine valley close to the main divide of the Southern Alps. It has a population of around 100 permanent residents plus approximately 50 bach owners who regularly or occasionally visit. Encircled by Arthur's Pass National Park, the village is home to a Department of Conservation (DOC) office, from which the Park and other conservation lands in the surrounding area are administered. Tourism is the main industry in the village.

The second community comprises inhabitants of the Waimakariri Basin, an area south east of Arthur's Pass village, made up of river flats and high country tussockland around the Waimakariri River and its tributaries. Approximately 50 people occupy farm homesteads, tourism lodges and small holiday settlements in the Basin. Pastoralism, the foundation of life in the Basin since the 1850s, has slowly given way to tourism in the past 20 years. A variety of conservation lands exist within, and adjacent to, the Waimakariri Basin. In all,

more than half of the study area consists of DOC-administered public conservation lands (see Map 2, p. 56).

Twenty-seven people with various associations to the study site were interviewed in the course of this study. These included local landowners and managers, tourism operators, DOC staff, bach owners and other village residents.

8.2 Model of the local people-park relationship

The topics of the three theme chapters: (i) locals' lifestyle, outdoor recreation and place attachment; (ii) community perceptions of tourism and its effects; and (iii) the relationship between the community and the Department of Conservation, signify the main avenues through which the local people-park relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin operates.

The context of the community is also relevant. The local people's relationship with the conservation lands is buried in the midst of a complex association between the social and physical environments in the study area. The manner in which people are influenced by and give meaning to local conditions, such as the alpine environment and weather, isolation and the small size of the community, can help our understanding of the local people-park relationship. In addition, the social and cultural history of the area shapes, to some degree, the values and meanings that locals ascribe to the conservation lands and conservation management. These contextual factors are brought together with the three main avenues of the local people-park relationship and presented in Figure 8.1 below.



Figure 8.1: The community-conservation land relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin

This study has examined the relationship between individuals and groups in a community (located in the centre of the model) and the nearby protected natural areas, referred to as conservation lands in the New Zealand context (located in the second outer ring). The community relationship with the local conservation lands occurs via the three avenues mentioned above - local tourism; the Department of Conservation; and lifestyle, recreation and attachment. The outer ring represents the local context within which the relationship occurs. It comprises a range of physical and social conditions, including the study area's social history, an alpine environment, isolation, small communities and high country pastoralism. Not included in the model are a broader set of external influences, at the national and global scale, such as changing political climates, national tourism trends and advances in telecommunications technology.

The arrows pointing inward and outward represent the two dimensions of the local people-park relationship, following the belief that people both act on, and are influenced by, their environment (described by Ittelson et al., in Schroeder, 1996; Giddens, 1984; and Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995 earlier in this volume). Outward pointing arrows indicate that people are, of their own accord, assigning values and meanings to various aspects of their local environment/context and acting on those values and meanings. This self-determined behaviour is influenced by personal characteristics such as upbringing, political persuasion and personality. Inward pointing arrows indicate that the local environment and context shape local people's actions, to some degree. The local people-park relationship, as conceived in this thesis, exists within the milieu of these two ever-present forms of influence.

Figure 8.1 shows a clear distinction between the conservation lands and other aspects of the local context. In reality this distinction is not clear; the conservation lands are part of the local context. In a similar way, the separation between the three avenues of the local people-park relationship is not definite. Rather, they tend to merge together, as indicated by the dotted lines. For example, the attachment that locals have, and the values they place on the conservation lands, influence both DOC-community relationships and local perspectives on tourism. In turn, the recreation facilities provided by DOC on local conservation lands (or not provided, as the case may be) are crucial for the local tourism industry and also play an important role in locals' outdoor recreation.

The model illustrates how the various aspects of this study can be conceptualised as a whole. The next section returns to focus on the individual avenues through which the local people-park relationship occurs.

8.3 Community and conservation land: Dimensions of the relationship

This section revisits topics discussed in Chapters 5 through 7: lifestyle, recreation and attachment; tourism; and DOC-community relationships. Each dimension of the local people-park relationship is discussed with reference to the model presented in Figure 8.1. Concluding comments are given at the end of the section.

8.3.1 Lifestyle, recreation and attachment

The alpine environment and conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are important parts of the local lifestyle. They attract a population of generally like-minded people who place positive values and meanings on the environment. In addition, for some of the locals, day-to-day natural environment experiences and/or outdoor

recreation experiences nurture their positive environmental values and meanings. As a result, there is a congregation of people with strong environmental attitudes and values - a shared community conservation ethic, which leads, in turn, to acts of stewardship within the village such as organised litter collections, native tree planting, and attempts to eradicate pests and weeds.

The recreation opportunities associated with living near conservation lands are an important part of life for many people in the study area. Arthur's Pass villagers, in particular, have numerous walking tracks and routes literally at their door step. For some people in the village, outdoor recreation experiences are a significant part of the attraction of living in Arthur's Pass. Following an established framework for changes in leisure behaviour, Kelly and Godbey's (1992) Life Course model (see Figure 2.2, p. 31), this thesis suggested a structure in the changing recreation habits of new village residents (see Figure 5.1, p. 76). This recreational life-path begins when previous recreation experiences in the area serve to establish an initial attraction, leading to the decision to relocate to Arthur's Pass. Upon moving, the new residents are prepared to take on jobs servicing tourists' needs, often lower paid and more menial than their previous forms of employment. The flexibility of such jobs gives new residents the necessary time to take advantage of local recreation opportunities. Job quality is thus sacrificed for recreation and lifestyle benefits. Eventually, when greater commitments to family and/or employment are chosen, recreation participation reduces or changes because of altered priorities.

The recreational life-path shows two key differences from the Life Course model of Kelly and Godbey (1992). First, the life path model shows how recreation preferences can instigate a life transition such as shifting home. This contrasts with the predictive Life Course model, which assumes that life transitions influence recreation patterns. Second, transition to parenthood in Arthur's Pass does not involve the shift to indoor leisure that Kelly and Godbey (1992) suggest. The close proximity of the National Park, together with parents' existing preferences for outdoor recreation, keeps a strong outdoor element in family leisure. These deviations from the Kelly and Godbey model underscore the bi-directional nature of the local people-park relationship in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin: (i) the capacity of individuals to make self-determined choices; and (ii) the influence of the environment on locals' lifestyles.

Study participants' accounts of the physical and social environments in Arthur's Pass, in particular their recreation activities, draw many parallels with established literature on environmental values, outdoor recreation motivations and benefits, and place attachment.

Consistent with the findings of Brandenburg and Carroll (1995), the recreational attachment of locals to Arthur's Pass National Park is based on three factors - length of association, quality of experience, and proximity and ease of access. Generally, local people see experiences in the local environment as meaningful and important. Themes such as spiritual renewal, escapism, social interaction, achievement, contemplation, aesthetic appreciation, and creative expression are evident in individuals' descriptions of their outdoor experiences in the Park.

For many people living in Arthur's Pass village, a key part of their lifestyle is appreciation of the surrounding environment, either through recreation activities or just the close proximity and visibility of the mountains and forest. Every-day life in Arthur's Pass appears to include a more pronounced range of leisure-related or individually-satisfying elements than life in a more conventional setting. This is not to say that life in Arthur's Pass is one of leisure and permanent recreation, although this may be closer to the truth for bach owners. Rather, many in Arthur's Pass reap the benefits of living in an environment on which they place a positive and often spiritual or self-affirming meaning.

The link between every-day life and leisure or satisfaction is even more pronounced in the farming community in the Waimakariri Basin, where there is a definite overlap between work, lifestyle and leisure. Farmers tend to have limited formal recreation, relying instead on their daily living/working habits to provide them with outdoors experiences and leisure-related benefits.

Trade-offs that many residents of Arthur's Pass make to live in the area are indicative of the depth of local feeling for Arthur's Pass village, the environment and the conservation lands. By living in Arthur's Pass, many locals sacrifice potential income, distance themselves from friends and services, and endure inclement alpine weather. Locals balance these sacrifices against what they see as positive features of living in the area, such as the recreation opportunities, natural surroundings, social environment and, in some cases, business prospects. Some also attribute positive meanings to aspects of the local context which might normally be seen as disadvantages. People speak of a "nice kind of isolation" and feelings of self-reliance and peacefulness in the knowledge that they can cope with extreme weather conditions.

However, the trade-off is not a fruitful one for all sections of the community. Some are unable to turn the negatives into positives; unable to learn and value the self-sufficiency needed for survival. Others are there purely for a short term job and do not have attachment to the environment. Some families and people anticipating old age consider the

disadvantages from lack of access to facilities and services as too great and, although attached to the environment, they speak of leaving the area.

For families, living so close to the National Park represents a dilemma. Raising a family in Arthur's Pass is attractive in terms of having a natural outdoors playground where children can gain self confidence. Parents can be actively involved in their children's recreation and environmental education, which also builds family cohesion. However, Arthur's Pass is an isolated place to raise a family. With school closure imminent and the likelihood of limited social exposure for their children, some parents feel obligated to move their family to a place with a school and more facilities.

8.3.2 Tourism

The tourism industry in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is based largely on the presence of conservation lands and is facilitated by State Highway 73 and the Midland Railway Line. Transit tourism - servicing the needs of motorists passing through the area - accounts for a significant portion of the total tourism activity, particularly in Arthur's Pass village where the majority of service providers are located.

In terms of Figure 8.1, the tourism dimension of the local people-park relationship operates in both directions. The conservation lands and local context present (and sometimes restrict) opportunities for tourism development; while local people recognise the potential value of their environment and take steps to realise the economic benefits from tourism.

For locals, the conservation lands represent, through tourism, a potential source of livelihood and an economic basis for their community. Some actively tap the natural tourism resource; many others gain some form of indirect economic benefit. Locals speak of conservation land as being valuable because of its economic potential. The pristine and rugged character of Arthur's Pass National Park is referred to as a vital part of the uniqueness of Arthur's Pass and necessary for the community's continued prosperity from tourism.

Simultaneously, the conservation lands and local alpine environment play a large role in determining the forms of tourism that can occur. The rugged Arthur's Pass National Park draws back-country users who are often content to stay in the budget accommodation provided in the village and are (generally) capable of recreating in the Park without assistance. Road and rail links through the village bring in a more passive, transitory set of visitors who tend to make greater use of front-country facilities.

The apparent restraint which the alpine environment places on the local tourism industry in Arthur's Pass is occurring in the absence of any real attempt to expand the attraction base. For instance, destination-based guided activities, which have proven to be the cornerstone of conservation-based tourism in other South Island locations, have not been established. The lack of tourism development can, in part, be traced back to the peculiar location of Arthur's Pass village in a narrow steep-sided valley, completely surrounded by land where development possibilities are excluded, both physically (by the sheer topography) and legally (by the National Park status of the land). These are matters of historical circumstance - an outcome of the road and rail construction settlements and the efforts of early conservationists. Also contributing to the slow rate of tourism development is a perception, voiced by locals, that new tourism operations in the village would struggle to survive. No tourism entrepreneurs and developers have had sufficient confidence in the Arthur's Pass tourism market to initiate any substantial developments.

The low-key form of tourism in the village is generally consistent with locals' aspirations for their home community. Locals are wary of the possible negative effects on the village from excessive or inappropriate tourism development. For example, scenic flights, discouraged by Park management, are strongly opposed by locals, based on the likely damage to the quiet alpine village atmosphere and Park environment. There is little conflict between residents and tourists, possibly because both appreciate the natural environment at Arthur's Pass, which reduces the cultural distance between the two groups. In spite of this, there is a need, felt among the business sector in Arthur's Pass, for a diversification of the local tourism product to make the village more of a destination, rather than the transit-town which it is to so many who pass through. However, the dominant attraction in Arthur's Pass, the National Park, is noted as a constraint to achieving any real change in the attraction base of the village. This is due to the sheer imposition of the Park on the village community, which limits options for creating an alternative tourism theme or set of tourism activities in the village.

A different set of circumstances in the Waimakariri Basin has allowed a slightly different form of tourism to emerge. In addition to local conservation lands, the Basin has a more open, high country landscape, fewer restrictions on property development, an obvious presence of pastoral culture, and traces of Maori culture. These circumstances have made it possible to attract a broader range of visitors than in Arthur's Pass. Landowners in the Basin have successfully established high country accommodation operations, which incorporate organised activities for guests on conservation and farm land.

The tourism industry continues to grow in both Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Indications from locals are that the level of tourism development at which unacceptable negative impacts on the destination begin to occur - the tourism capacity - has yet to be reached in Arthur's Pass village. The elements of a destination which can suffer from tourism - the natural resources, physical infrastructure and social conditions (Butler, 1980), are generally not being compromised by the current level of tourism development and use. A notable exception to this is the Temple Basin skifield, where reported infrastructure problems and track erosion indicate that a use threshold may have been exceeded. Interviews suggest that a similar situation exists in the Waimakariri Basin, where it appears that the local tourism resources can withstand further use without damage, notwithstanding current debates about the effects of recreational boating on Lake Pearson's grebe habitat and holiday home developments at Grasmere Station.

Overall, tourism in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin occurs largely on nature's terms. The environment and conservation lands appears to offer only a narrow window of opportunity within which locals can foster tourism. To date, there has been little effort on the part of tourism developers and entrepreneurs to widen the window of opportunity; the area has not become a 'playground', replete with human-made attractions and organised activities. Instead, the existing local resources - the natural environment, and in particular the conservation lands - remain as the foundation of the tourism industry. Tourism in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin remains relatively low-key, has few impacts and is consistent with community aspirations and values.

8.3.3 DOC-community relationships

Inevitably, any protected natural area requires some sort of management agency to uphold the values of the land. In the current research context, this management agency (DOC) represents a significant section of the local community. DOC's association with the local community is thus an important part of the wider community-conservation land relationship which this study explores.

With reference to Figure 8.1, the DOC-community relationship is community-driven rather than environmentally determined. As several participants mentioned, the delicate nature of the relationship (in particular the unfavourable views towards DOC), is an understandable outcome when a single organisation or business has such a prominent position in a small town. Individual and/or collectively held values, meanings and perceptions, of both DOC staff and locals, shape the relationship. The way that local people identify with and appreciate not only the conservation lands, but also contextual elements such as the area's

isolation and social history (i.e. their 'place' in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin) influences the way they relate to The Department.

The Department of Conservation is an ever-present reminder for local people that much of their surrounding environment is protected. However, this does not imply that local appreciation for the environment translates to similar feelings towards DOC. In fact, the local community tend to be more often critical of DOC than they are sympathetic. Four factors contribute to locals' inclination to criticise: (i) community members' attachment and historical ties to the conservation lands, (ii) public ownership of the land with DOC a publicly-funded agency, (iii) high visibility of DOC in the community and (iv) the perceived emergence of a corporate management style within DOC.

The historical aspect is particularly significant. For many long-term residents and bach owners, the notion that DOC is adopting a corporate/business style of conservation management conflicts with their own ideas about what is desirable and appropriate for the conservation lands and for the community. The image of Arthur's Pass that some long-term locals have is not always consistent with the management style that the Department adopts.

DOC acknowledges that community support is imperative for effective conservation management. However, in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin there appears to be a division between locals and DOC staff. While this is not solely the fault of individual staff members, there is scope for DOC to better integrate with the local community. Greater DOC involvement in the local social setting, both as individuals and as an organisation, would be one way to reduce the barrier between DOC and locals. Having said this, the often temporary nature of DOC employment in Arthur's Pass hinders individual integration within the community. Although maintenance of Arthur's Pass village is the role of the local district council and outside the legal responsibility of the Department, DOC staff in Arthur's Pass should have the willingness and be given resources to make active contributions to the community. This requires recognition from within the DOC organisation of the benefits that they can gain from good relationships with small local communities, particularly in a confined place like Arthur's Pass.

Pastoral farmers consider themselves to have good reason for being unsympathetic towards the Department. They feel that DOC is not using taxpayer money efficiently and is predisposed to taking grazing land from the rural community. Farmers perceive that DOC does not understand the pastoral perspective and ignores local knowledge of the land. Attitudes towards farmers within DOC staff at Arthur's Pass vary. Some criticise high

country pastoralism as environmentally-damaging; others concede that the farmers are practising sustainable land management. The former attitude may be justifiable from a biophysical viewpoint, but does not aid the reality of the situation, which is that the pastoral farmers are in the Basin, with a strong sense of belonging on the land, and are using the land as they know how to. The latter view allows a more constructive approach to be taken by both parties and is more likely to bring about mutual respect for each other's knowledge and a willingness to yield. If high country farmers continue to perceive that DOC disregard their perspective, the relationship will continue to be unproductive.

Indications are that DOC in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin is beginning to take a constructive and inclusive approach to community relations. The Department has recently employed a Community Relations Officer, a community newsletter is produced, and relations with the rural community have been addressed through farmer-field days at the time of writing. These steps are just the beginning however. Continued effort is needed to achieve community understanding and co-operation.

8.3.4 Reintegration

The natural environment and the conservation lands in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin are important features in the lives of individuals and the livelihood of the community. In particular, Arthur's Pass National Park is a dominant feature for people living in Arthur's Pass village.

The tension between environmentally-determined behaviour (the direct effect of the environment on people) and self-initiated action (people's capacity to act outside those effects) is played out differently in the three dimensions of the local people-park relationship. Local people's lifestyle, recreation and attachment consists mainly of locals giving meaning to their home environment and context and acting on those meanings. Locals are thus able to cope with and gain advantage from living in an alpine environment. The local tourism industry is influenced to a greater extent by the natural environment and conservation lands; it tends to operate within limits set by the environment. Finally, the nature of the DOC-community relationship is not shaped by any objective characteristics of the local environment or conservation lands, but is instead founded on a host of individual and group-based values, attitudes and perceptions.

Dilemmas and trade-offs inherent in life in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin can be traced back to the tension discussed in the previous paragraph. Two particular aspects of the local community, tourism development and raising families, illustrate the tension.

Conservation lands provide opportunity for tourism, however they also limit the forms in which it can exist; they offer an appealing environment in which to raise small children, yet inevitably cannot house the services that many families require.

Such tensions between environmental influences and human intention underlie life in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin. Local people meet the challenge offered by the environment, largely through the positive values and meanings they ascribe to the environment, particularly to the conservation lands. These positive values and meanings are generally sustained by the forms of tourism that occur in the study area, but sometimes lead to disagreement with the activities of the conservation management agency, DOC.

8.4 Implications for future research

Previous sections in this chapter have led to a culmination in the findings of this thesis. This section goes a step further, looking at what the findings mean for future research. Implications for leisure participation theory are briefly discussed, before turning to the central theme of the study, people-park relationships and socially inclusive park management.

This study has made a contribution to leisure participation literature. It has shown that recreation preferences can direct life transitions. The recreational life-path suggested for certain Arthur's Pass village residents demonstrates that strong recreation preferences can play an important role in decisions to relocate to areas close to favourable recreation settings. This contrasts with traditional leisure participation models, such as Kelly and Godbey's (1992) Life Course model (Figure 2.2, p. 31), which presume that participation is largely a function of stage of life and available resources. By moving to Arthur's Pass in order to satisfy recreation preferences, participants not only redefine their stage of life, but also intentionally influence the availability of a crucial leisure resource - time. The finding implies that self-determined outdoor recreation participation can have a significant role in shaping life circumstances and life transitions - a conceptual shift that could be usefully incorporated into future leisure participation theory.

8.4.1 Socially inclusive park management

Information required as a basis for socially inclusive park management includes the social, cultural and economic systems and structures of communities as well as the values and attitudes of local communities towards parks (Field, 1997; Machlis & Soukop, 1997). This is the first study done in New Zealand that takes an exploratory qualitative approach to gain such understanding of a community nearby conservation lands. The approach has

yielded an abundance of information on local people's interactions with their environmental and social context. Despite the challenges presented in translating such a breadth of information into a useful analysis, the approach has been worthwhile and is recommended. It has highlighted a number of local conditions and issues which, if recognised by conservation managers and researchers, can contribute to the basic understanding needed if socially-inclusive conservation management is to be implemented at a local level.

Many of the study's findings are site specific and arise from some rather unique characteristics of the study area. Other communities and areas will have their own particular characteristics, which may give rise to a different form of local people-park relationship. There is a need, therefore, for studies similar to this in other communities around New Zealand.

Despite the likely differences in people-park relationships across different communities, the broad structure of the local people-park connection in Arthur's Pass and the Waimakariri Basin, identified in Figure 8.1, may usefully be applied in other local people-park studies. The three dimensions of the local people-park relationship identified in Figure 8.1, lifestyle, recreation and attachment; tourism; and relations with DOC, can be used as a starting framework for studies in other communities. The model can be altered to suit particular histories, environmental conditions and social situations. Dimensions of the local people-park relationship can be removed or added as appropriate. For example, in some communities the DOC presence may be minimal, or tourism may be more dominant.

In any case, it is important that any future studies into people-park relationships in New Zealand reproduce the depth of information gained in this study. This is because many park managers and conservation staff do not have the advantage of having spent long periods of time in a given community close to conservation lands. Without a meaningful understanding of how local people relate to nearby protected areas and how this relationship may be influenced by particular aspects of local social context, transient park managers are unlikely to give the community adequate consideration in their management task.

This thesis has taken an exploratory approach to gain understanding of the relationship between local communities and conservation areas. Such understanding, both by locals and conservation managers, is a necessary foundation for any real shift towards socially inclusive park management at the local level. This study is an initial contribution to the complex ideal of socially inclusive park management. Its true value will therefore only be

realised if it can inform future research into how socially-inclusive park management can be put into practice. As well as the exploratory forms of research, such as this thesis provides, more applied research may build on existing understanding of methods of identifying community needs; information sharing techniques between local authorities and resident people; strategies for community involvement in conservation projects; and more generally, investigating practical options for integrating the views and aims of local people and protected natural area management.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview guidelines

Appendix 1.1 Interview guidelines for village residents

Introduce me and my study

- What it's about; reasons for the study (people & parks...); how I am collecting information; why I have selected them. Let them see how my study relates to them

Preliminary

- Establish the participant's 'place' in the community
- Personal information: where & when you were born: brought up, school etc; length of time in the community; marital & family status, position in the community; past/present occupations
- Reasons for living/working in Arthur's Pass; attractions for living there
- Description of lifestyle; what do you do in your spare time?; membership in local groups
- If you had to pack up and move away tomorrow, how would you feel about leaving?

Go from lifestyle to recreation

- Ask for more info on any recreation mentioned, any details, length of trip, # in group etc
- Benefits and motivations for recreation

Start talking about the conservation land

- What it's like to live inside a national park; advantages & disadvantages
- Links between lifestyle and the conservation lands, the mountain environment
- Knowledge of Torlesse Conservation Park; impressions; possible effects on community
- Importance of land protection
- Feelings about hypothetical removal of protected status; implications for individual/community
- Describe of Arthur's Pass and surrounding environment to someone who has never been to the area; the feel of the place and what its like to live there

Tourism

- Effects from tourism on the individual/community
- Possibility of more regular crowding in the village (cf - the crowd on 'Coast to Coast' race day)
- Importance of the road and rail to local tourism

DOC

- Personal/community effects from the way DOC manage the conservation land around Arthur's Pass
- Aspirations for DOC-community relationship; description of current relationship between DOC and local community

Community

- Description of community

Appendix 1.2 Interview guidelines for tourism operators

Introduce me and my study

- What it's about; reasons for the study (people & parks...); how I am collecting information; why I have selected them. Let them see how my study relates to them.

Attachment

- History of their connection to the area
- What attracted them to the area; how much business-related and how much personal preference
- Work, subsistence and income
- What the (conservation) land means to them?
- Links between lifestyle and the presence of the protected areas, the national parks, the mountains.
- Work-recreation links
- Personal use of the conservation lands; outcomes/benefits of that use
- Things they appreciate about living/working in study area; disadvantages
- Favourite local spot; why is it special; importance of natural environment to well being
- Perceptions of personal or community benefit from having conservation lands close to home
- Individual's description of Arthur's Pass/Waimak Basin and the local environment here; as if they are describing to someone who has never been there
- If they had to leave suddenly, how would they feel

Protected areas

- Purposes and goals of protection - of national parks?
- Importance of protected land; feelings if protected status were to be lifted; implications for tourism

Management

- How can the local environment best be managed?
- Impressions of conservation management in New Zealand; in Arthur's Pass and Waimak Basin
- Effects from DOC's management of conservation land; both personal and business
- Knowledge of Torlesse Conservation Park proposal; personal view; possible effects on tourism
- Future threats to the business; to the conservation lands; to the community

Community

- Description of community
- Particular characteristics of people that live/work and spend time in the Arthur's Pass area?
- Aspirations for community relationship with DOC
- Description of relationship between DOC and the local community?

Tourism

- Effects of tourism on community; on individual tourism operation
- Effect of DOC's visitor management on tourism operation; opinion on recent road improvements

Appendix 1.3 Interview guidelines for farmers

Introduce me and my study

- What it's about; reasons for the study (people & parks...); how I am collecting information; why I have selected them. Let them see how my study relates to them.

Attachment

- Family and personal history in the area; traditional activities?
- Land ownership and changes through time
- Historical use of the land on this run
- Work, subsistence and income
- What does the land here mean to you?; farmland, conservation land
- Links between lifestyle and the presence of conservation lands, mountains
- Work-recreation links; benefits of recreation-type activities
- Things they appreciate about living/working on the land; disadvantages
- Favourite place in the area
- Importance of the natural environment to well being
- Perception of personal or community benefit from having conservation lands nearby
- Individual's description of Arthur's Pass/Waimak Basin and the local environment here; as if they are describing to someone who has never been there
- If they had to leave suddenly, how would they feel

Protected areas

- Purposes and goals of protecting land
- Importance of protected land
- How would you feel if the protected status was lifted?; implications for individual/farm/community

Management

- Appropriate management for the local environment
- Impressions of conservation management in New Zealand; in Arthur's Pass and Waimakariri Basin
- Effects from the way DOC are managing the land around Arthur's Pass & Waimakariri Basin
- Any opportunities lost because of the land's protected status and its management?
- Knowledge of the Torlesse Conservation Park; impressions; possible effects on farm, community
- Future threats to the station; conservation land; community

Community

- Description of community in Waimakariri Basin and in Arthur's Pass
- Particular characteristics of people that live/work and spend time in the Arthur's Pass area
- Aspirations for community relationship with DOC
- Description of relationship between DOC and the local community?

Tourism

- Effects from tourism on the community; farm
- Do DOC's visitor management actions have any bearing on how the farm operates? Importance of the road and rail to local tourism; opinion on the recent road improvements

Appendix 1.4 Interview guidelines for bach owners

Introduce me and my study

- What it's about; reasons for the study (people & parks...); how I am collecting information; why I have selected them. Let them see how my study relates to them.

Preliminary

- Establish the participant's 'place' in the community
- Outline history of connection with the Arthur's Pass region; earliest recollection of Arthur's Pass
- Reasons for choosing to buy a bach at Arthur's Pass; significance of the bach being in a natural mountainous area, a protected area
- Importance of protected areas; value of the National Park
- What sort of role does the bach at Arthur's Pass play in your life?
- Favourite place in the region
- Positives and negatives about owning a bach and spending time at Arthur's Pass; things that you particularly appreciate or especially annoy you
- Any significant changes that have occurred over the years; changes to the typical Arthur's Pass visit or to the community, landscape, conservation land/management or environment
- What do you do when you are up at your bach?; how do you spend your time?; any use of conservation land
- More info on any recreation mentioned, any details, length of trip, # in group...
- Benefits and motivations for recreation on conservation land
- Personal/community benefit from having a large protected environment close to Arthur's Pass
- Description of Arthur's Pass and the local conservation lands/environment
- Feelings about hypothetical removal of protected status of conservation land; personal/ community implications
- Feelings about having to leave Arthur's Pass, unable to visit bach any more

Community

- Description of community
- Particular characteristics of people that live and spend time at baches in Arthur's Pass

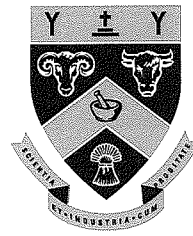
Management

- Impressions of conservation management in New Zealand; in Arthur's Pass
- Aspects of DOC's role in Arthur's Pass they have confidence in or feel secure about
- Aspirations for DOC-community relationship. Description of current DOC-community relationship
- Effects on individual/community from the way DOC are managing the land around Arthur's Pass?
- Knowledge/ impressions of Torlesse Conservation Park proposal; possible effects on community
- Future threats to the local environment, conservation lands, bach or the community

Tourism

- Effects of tourism on the community; on bach owners
- Possibility of more regular crowding in the village (cf - the crowd on Coast to Coast race day)

Appendix 2 Introduction letter and consent form



INFORMATION FORM

Hi, my name is Robert Kappelle. I'm a Masters student in Parks, Recreation & Tourism Management at Lincoln University.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my thesis research. Your participation in this project will involve taking part in an interview with me. Please tell me if you object to the interview being recorded.

With your help, my study will be looking at some social implications of conservation areas and conservation management. As well as you, I will also be talking with a range of other residents and land users in the Arthur's Pass and upper Waimakariri basin area.

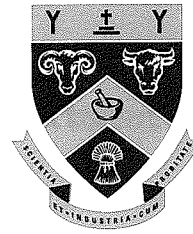
The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation - your name will not be made public. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used in the writing of the thesis. Also, tapes and written matter will be securely held and only accessible to myself and my university supervisors.

If you have any concerns or queries regarding your participation in the project, I will be pleased to discuss them with you. My contact details, as well as those of my two supervisors are set out below.

Robert Kappelle: at Lincoln University 03-325-3820
At home 03-325-2923
e-mail kappellr@lincoln.ac.nz

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CONSENT FORM

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 3 Statutory function of Department of Conservation

Conservation Act 1987

Part II - Establishment and functions of the Department of Conservation

6. Functions of Department —

The functions of the Department are to administer this Act and the enactments specified in the First Schedule to this Act, and, subject to this Act and those enactments and to the directions (if any) of the Minister,—

(a) To manage for conservation purposes, all land, and all other natural and historic resources, for the time being held under this Act, and all other land and natural and historic resources whose owner agrees with the Minister that they should be managed by the Department:

[(ab) To preserve so far as is practicable all indigenous freshwater fisheries, and protect recreational freshwater fisheries and freshwater fish habitats:]

(b) To advocate the conservation of natural and historic resources generally:

(c) To promote the benefits to present and future generations of—

(i) The conservation of natural and historic resources generally and the natural and historic resources of New Zealand in particular; and

(ii) The conservation of the natural and historic resources of New Zealand's sub-antarctic islands and, consistently with all relevant international agreements, of the Ross Dependency and Antarctica generally; and

(iii) International co-operation on matters relating to conservation:

(d) To prepare, provide, disseminate, promote, and publicise educational and promotional material relating to conservation:

(e) To the extent that the use of any natural or historic resource for recreation or tourism is not inconsistent with its conservation, to foster the use of natural and historic resources for recreation, and to allow their use for tourism:

(f) To advise the Minister on matters relating to any of those functions or to conservation generally:

(g) Every other function conferred on it by any other enactment.